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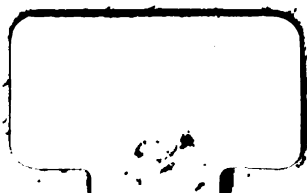
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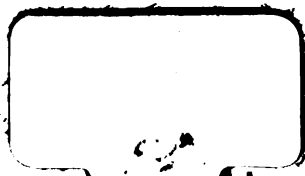
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U. S. Congress. House. Committee on the judiciary.

# WOMAN SUFFRAGE

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HEARINGS

3 MAY 11

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BEFORE THE

## COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SIXTY-FOURTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

. ON

## WOMAN SUFFRAGE

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Serial 11—Parts 2 and 3

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DECEMBER 16, 1915, AND  
FEBRUARY 1, 1916



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SIXTY-FOURTH CONGRESS.

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## WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

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### SERIAL II, PART 2.

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#### COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, *Thursday, December 16, 1915.*

The committee this day met at 10 o'clock a. m., Hon. Edwin Y. Webb (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. Gentlemen of the committee, as you know, we have met this morning for the purpose of hearing arguments in favor of various joint resolutions relating to woman suffrage which have been referred to this committee, one being by Mr. Raker, House joint resolution No. 1; one by Mr. Mondell, House joint resolution No. 2; one by Mr. Keating, House joint resolution No. 4; one by Mr. Taylor, House joint resolution No. 6; and one by Mr. Hayden, being House joint resolution No. 7. At the meeting yesterday it was agreed that those in favor of woman suffrage should be given three hours this morning, and that immediately thereafter those opposed should be given two hours. The three hours' time will be divided between the National American Woman Suffrage Association and the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage, both favoring woman suffrage, if they can agree on the time; if not,



then the chairman will parcel out the time. If there is anyone present who can say whether or not an agreement on time has been made the committee will be glad to hear from her.

Dr. SHAW. I am the president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and will say to the committee that the first half of the time is to be assigned to the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and the latter half to the Congressional Union.

The CHAIRMAN. I am sure that is quite agreeable to the committee, and without objection the committee extends to you one hour and a half, that time to be controlled by you as president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association in favor of woman suffrage. Control the time as you may desire; use it yourself or parcel it out to others. The committee is glad to recognize you.

#### NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

#### STATEMENT OF DR. ANNA HOWARD SHAW, PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

Dr. SHAW. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the Committee on the Judiciary: This, I believe, is the forty-fifth year since the first introduction of the resolution of which I wish to speak, and of which the members of my association wish to speak, which is popularly known throughout the country as the Susan B. Anthony amendment to the National Constitution, but which has been known by various names in Congress because of the different gentlemen who have introduced it from Congress to Congress—this resolution is the one which we have asked to have passed all these years, making an amendment to the National Constitution granting to the women citizens of the United States equal political rights, and as far as the right to vote is concerned, with the male citizens of the nation. We of the older days popularly know this amendment as the Sixteenth Amendment of the National Constitution. It is only recently that the name has been changed so that we could designate it amongst ourselves, because the Sixteenth Amendment was taken by another.

We come again this year with the same hope and same expectation which we have had in our hearts all these 45 years, and as I look over your committee and over the ladies present I find that I am the only woman alive and the only person alive who was present at that first hearing. I did not attend the very first hearing, but I am the only person alive among those who were present at the first hearing that I attended. During all these years we have been working toward this one end and aim as citizens of this great Nation of ours. We feel that we are the only class of citizens, the only sex of citizens, deprived of citizens' rights, and being deprived of the rights of citizens deprives us of many other rights which belong to us as human beings. And because of this we are making our usual demand of this Congress, that your committee shall report to the lower House of Congress a bill asking that this amendment shall be granted by the Congress of the United States. And we hope, from the agitation which has taken place, from the education which has taken place, throughout the country that Congress is particularly impressed with the fact of the progress of our movement, and we hope that not only will the com-

mittee report our measure favorably but that it will receive favorable action at the hands of Congress. We know that Congress is not able to grant suffrage to women; we only know that this amendment opens up the way by which it is possible for some of the States to pass it. We know that there are objections on the ground of State rights, and other objections which have been raised. But one of the difficulties which stands in our way is the fact that the constitutions of some of the States are so framed that it is absolutely impossible to amend them, and the only way by which we can hope to receive our rights as citizens, and have the power to protect and defend ourselves as other citizens do, is by an act of Congress. The process has been very long; it has been long enough; it needs to be shortened, and the shortest process by which this thing can be gained is by the passage of the amendment in the United States Congress and its submission to the legislatures of the various States, realizing, as we do, that it needs only a two-thirds vote in the Congress of the United States and a vote of three-fourths of the States in order to enact it into law.

I am not here to address you this morning on the reasons why we want this done. I only come here as one of the oldest of the suffragists, one who has labored longest, one who has devoted more years of service to this fundamental principle of freedom and justice than any woman who has ever lived has devoted to it. And I come appealing to you again. I ask that we may have a favorable report from your committee. My duties as president of the national association call me away from this meeting, and I must leave after I have introduced Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, the president of the International Woman's Suffrage Alliance, which body comprises 28 nations, all of whom have large organizations like our own asking for suffrage. This international body meets every four years—although I think it does meet yearly—for the purpose of reelecting its officers, and it holds a foremost place in the nations of the world. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt is president, and has been president from the beginning, and as such I introduce her to-day, not only as president of the International Woman's Suffrage Alliance but as president of the New York State Suffrage Association. After Mrs. Catt has finished her address I will be compelled to leave, and I would like to have one of our officers, Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw, also from New York, take my place.

**STATEMENT OF MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, PRESIDENT  
OF THE INTERNATIONAL WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE  
AND PRESIDENT OF THE NEW YORK STATE SUFFRAGE  
ASSOCIATION.**

Mrs. CATT. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I fear that the hearings before this Judiciary Committee have become, in the eyes and understanding of many of the members, a rather perfunctory affair which you have to endure, having accepted positions upon this committee. May I remind you that since the last hearing before this committee something new has happened in the United States, and that is that more than a million men have voted for woman suffrage in four of the most conservative States of the East. In my own State, New York, we are rather slow and we do not yet even know the total "yes" votes, but the votes of the other States

are in. The last returns showed that there were 535,000 in that State. That number, if correct, is larger than the "yes" votes which gave the privilege of the ballot to the women of nine other States. I consider that that big vote in the four eastern States presents to this committee a mandate for action which was never presented before.

There are those, doubtless, on this committee who will say that this is a question of State rights. I have been studying Congressmen for a good many years, and Congressmen come and Congressmen go, but our cause goes on forever. I have discovered this important fact, that when a man believes woman suffrage is right it is a constitutional and a national question and when he does not believe it is right he then says it is a question of State rights. But as the Constitution has provided—and no one denies it—a method of securing suffrage by this means, it is a fair proposition for us to come to you and ask that it be submitted to the several legislatures of our country. We come asking this privilege because there are two ways in which we can secure the vote, this way and by a referendum. Now, a referendum presents a proposition bigger and harder than any of you gentlemen have met in any political question in which you are interested. Whether you are Democrats or Republicans, when you begin a campaign you have the machinery ready; you have a certain number of votes upon which you can count; you know they are always going to be Republicans or always going to be democratic, and then your duty is to secure a certain additional number in order to win your majority. But we have no precedents, and we are obliged to campaign all men of every rank and religion.

Mr. GARD. If you will pardon me, I must ask to be excused, because I have another committee engagement.

Mrs. CATT. We have discovered not only in the eastern States, but we had discovered it in other States as well, that when we begin our campaign there were certain groups of people who were opposed to us. In the State of New York our constitution is very liberal. We allow illiterates to vote, and so kind is the State to those illiterates that it prints a little picture at the top of the ticket so that a man will be sure to know which party he belongs to, and if that is not enough, a man can go inside the booth and teach him how to vote. We have in New York the privilege of paupers having the vote, and besides these two classes we have those who have gone through the courts and who are not criminals in jail. For example, in the city of New York of 125,000 who passed through our courts last year, having committed some sort of minor misdemeanors but who come under the great general class of criminals, 16 per cent were women and all the others were voters.

We have now a commissioner of prisons, who is a woman, and who, wanting to vote herself, has made some investigation along these lines. And in the city of New York we have discovered, through her investigations, that the men in the prisons of New York are privileged, when they shall come out with a pardon, to vote. Not very long ago she visited one of those prisons which is an experiment, and while the different members of the commission were addressing the prisoners she was invited to do so herself, and the gentleman said, "Talk to them about woman suffrage." They did it rather as a joke. She said to them: "Gentlemen, I want to ask you how many of you believe in

woman suffrage," and there were only two hands came up. She asked how many of them were naturalized or were native citizens and how many of them would be out by election day. And it was found that some 90 per cent of them were to be released before that time and would be eligible to vote. And then she asked how many of them would vote for woman suffrage, and she found these two hands coming up and that was all. And then she tried to find from the others what their reason was for being opposed to woman suffrage, and they could not say. At last one of them raised his hand and very slowly said the thing which the statesmen of the land repeat "Woman's place is at home." It is the primitive fundamental objection which appears in the minds of men and of women before they have been made to think. As Julius Caesar said, a great many years ago. "Men believe, for the most part, that which they wish."

It was a good many years ago when the nation of Belgium sent a man who was the superintendent, as we would call him, of public education to this country to investigate the operation of woman suffrage. There was a threatened strike to secure universal suffrage for men, and a counter amendment had been offered that if that should be enforced women should be enfranchised. This man visited all of our suffrage States. He examined and interviewed all of our governors and all the "high-ups" in the various suffrage States, and when he returned to New York it was my privilege to meet that gentleman. I asked him the result of his investigations, and he said, with a French shrug of the shoulders, "I am convinced in my mind; I have seen nothing which tells me that woman suffrage is bad, and I have seen much that tells me it is good, but, oh, my heart is opposed still." There are members of this committee who are still governed by their hearts instead of their heads, and there is one such from the State of New York. Not long ago he was interviewed and he said, "I voted against the amendment because I had discovered that in the West where women vote the governments are imbecile." I am not going to attempt to answer that statement. I will refer it to those gentlemen of this committee who come from those Western States. What was the reason for that attitude? Simply because of that innate prejudice against the idea of women voting.

Gentlemen, this movement has grown bigger and stronger as the years have passed by, until to-day millions of women are asking in every State in the Union for the vote. The president of Cornell University, known to many of you, Dr. Schurman, said upon a suffrage platform not long ago, that his reason for now aggressively advocating woman suffrage was because he had discovered in studying history that it was never good for a government to have a restless and dissatisfied class, and that he had made up his mind that the women of the State of New York and of the Nation did think—whether they had or not—that they had a grievance and that they were restless and dissatisfied under that grievance, and he believed that a government was saner and that it was stronger and safer when grievances were relieved. I say to you that that reason grows bigger and stronger in the minds of women continually. The gentleman from New York who thinks the Western States have imbecile governments might find some discrepancies in justice in his own State. For example, the safety of our land, as we will all admit, is intrusted more largely to the public-school teachers than to any other one class, and in New York those

teachers have been promised for many years a pension at the end of 30 years of service, and a percentage has been taken from their wages in order to help make that fund and they have lived and worked with the expectation of that pension, and when this last year the time came for quite a number of them—some 14, I believe—to retire from the schools and to get that pension the fund had been so badly mismanaged that no pensions could be paid. And if there was one teacher among them who felt it necessary to retire on account of health and overwork there was no fund from which to draw a percentage of her salary.

In October, in the city of New York, in order to show to the men of Missouri who lived with us that the women wanted to vote, there was a parade and 20,000 women marched up Fifth Avenue in order to show that they wanted that vote, and among them there marched a great number of public-school teachers of the city of New York, 12,000 of whom had contributed to our campaign funds. These women, teaching in that city, second in size in the world, deal with the most difficult problems; they are teaching all that the new coming people know of citizenship, and these teachers were asking their own share in that citizenship. And a gentleman, whose name is known to every one of you, was sitting at the window of a clubhouse on Fifth Avenue idly watching the women pass by by the thousands, hour after hour, until at last this great group of teachers, 16 abreast, marched by with their banners and blackboards, and on their blackboards were the greetings that they were giving to the men and women standing on the streets. And this gentleman looked out upon them, and do you think he said what he should have said? "I am convinced that the women of New York want to vote and I will vote for them." That is what an honorable American citizen would have said; that is what an open-minded man would have said; that is what any man would have said who had made a superficial observation of the growth of this great movement. Instead he said: "My, God, I never realized what a menace this woman suffrage movement is to this country; we have got to do something to keep the women from getting the vote next Tuesday," and he did, and many another did. And I say to you, gentlemen, it is a menace, if menace it is, to this country. But that is a queer way to look at it. To appoint women to teach our boys the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the sacredness of citizenship, and then to say, "You are able to do this but you are unworthy and untrustworthy to have your vote counted at the ballot box."

We ask you to do a thing which will be represented in future histories as the greatest honor to your committee and to Congress. You will be glad to tell your grandchildren that you voted to submit this amendment, for woman's suffrage is coming anyway; there is no power on earth that can prevent it. As was said long ago, there is a power in an idea which always carries, no matter how great the armies may be against, provided it is right, and this is right. There is not a man on this committee nor in this house who can produce a single argument against it that will hold water, and the thing that is arousing the women of this land continually and making them realize that our great Government visits upon us a daily injustice lies in the fact that the doors of our ports are left wide open and that the men of all nations on earth are permitted to enter here. The

National Government, on a five years' residence, gives to every man entering them the right of citizenship, and, with the exception of a few State constitutions that have some restrictions in them, every one automatically enfranchises all these men. In the city of New York they must be talked to in 24 languages. And there are men who are a disgrace to our land, men who have their own ideas and selfish interests to serve who are always ready to teach those men that a vote means a dollar. And it is that which is making our Government imbecile, just because men with the dollar have back of them a block of voters who have no more comprehension of Americanism or patriotism than has the man in the moon. It is a shame that such men as that are able to control elections.

We found in New York blocks of those foreign voters, and while I have naught to say against them—I believe in having the open door; I believe in citizenship for them—I would, if I had my way, have the Democratic Party and the Republican Party so brave and so American that they would unite upon one thing and vote it out if it takes a lifetime, and that is that there should be no buying and no controlling and no driving of voters in order that one party may beat the other. It is the thing that is holding our Nation back. And it is that control by unprincipled men that to-day we realize is holding back the enfranchisement of American women. I appeal to you, gentlemen, in the name of progress, in the name of Americanism, and in the name of right to recognize the fact that women are people, and that no Government which claims to be based upon the views of the people can be consistent and just unless it recognizes those people.

Woman suffrage, because of these things, is coming; but it is a question how. It is not an easy thing to secure the ratification of such an amendment by the legislatures of the States. It means that there must be an overwhelming sentiment there, and it means that men at the polls are not going to be driven up in blocks and voted against the principle upon which our Government is founded.

A gentleman said to me yesterday, "This woman suffrage movement is a very good thing for the women; it gives them something to do. Most of the women I know are in it and they like it because there is something to do." I said, "Do you think we are going to stop when we have the vote?" And he said, in an astonished manner, "Of course, you are going to stop." And I said, "No."

In the State of New York—and, I think, in our neighboring States—the women have taught the men more than they ever knew before about the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, and we are longing to teach these men who to-day are voted against us in blocks; we are anxious to teach them that the most sacred duty a citizen of a country like this can perform is to put an honest prayer for the welfare of society into the ballot box.

I ask you gentlemen of the committee to recognize that this is not a question merely to be heard and passed over; it is a question to be acted upon and the duty is with you.

Mr. CHANDLER. Will you consent to a question or two?

Mrs. CATT. Certainly.

Mr. CHANDLER. You referred to a certain New Yorker who had favored woman suffrage and who had changed his mind and that he

had based the change upon the belief that he thought government by women was imbecile.

Mrs. CATT. I did not say a man had changed his mind, but——

Mr. CHANDLER. Was he a Congressman?

Mrs. CATT. Yes, sir.

Mr. CHANDLER. Would you mind stating who he is?

Mrs. CATT. The gentleman happens to be a member of this committee and I would object to doing so.

Mr. CHANDLER. The only member of this committee from New York who has favored woman suffrage, who might have changed his mind——

Mrs. CATT. No; I did not make the statement, Mr. Chandler, that he had changed. I said that is what he had stated in an interview recently.

Mr. CHANDLER. That is the question I want to get at. Who told you that?

Mrs. CATT. It was reported by the lady who is the leader of the district in which he lives. It was not you.

Mr. CHANDLER. It was not I?

Mrs. CATT. No. [Laughter.]

Mr. CHANDLER. I beg your pardon, then, Mrs. Catt. I would like to ask another question if I may.

Mrs. CATT. Certainly.

Mr. CHANDLER. I wish to say, of course, I never said anything of that kind, because I have made speeches for woman suffrage and——

Mrs. CATT (interrupting). I think you misunderstood. This gentleman never was a woman suffrage man. He said he voted against it and the reason he did so was because the western governments, in his judgment, were imbecile.

Mr. CHANDLER. Then I am ignorant of the members of my own committee, because I thought I was the only member on the committee from New York who favored woman suffrage. I want to ask this question with reference to a change that might be made, because I might change. I voted, as you well know—I do not know whether you know of my activities in New York, but I voted for woman suffrage, and also made speeches for it.

Mrs. CATT. Yes; I know.

Mr. CHANDLER. As Citizen Chandler at the ballot box I claim the right to vote as I see fit at any time; but my district went 2,000 against woman suffrage, and the city which I have the honor to represent in part went 89,000 against it, and the State that I have the honor to represent in part went 200,000 against it. You said something about the mandate of a million men of the East that want this suffrage. That million represented the minority, did it not?

Mrs. CATT. It did.

Mr. CHANDLER. Do you think the minority in any community can give a mandate, or is it the majority only that can give the mandate? There were more than a million voted against it.

Mrs. CATT. If the world had waited for the minorities that stood for right to become the majorities, we would be living in the Middle Ages still.

Mr. CHANDLER. But this is a political question. We base free institutions of man on the majority. Do you think a Representative is morally, from the viewpoint of political morality, justified in voting

for a measure when his constituents have recently deliberately—that is, at the ballot box—and overwhelmingly voted against it? Is not that a mandate to him?

Mrs. CATT. It certainly is not.

Mr. CHANDLER. He does not want to misrepresent them, does he?

Mrs. CATT. It might be a vote for the thing itself. If Congress had the power to grant suffrage itself, that might be considered a mandate but you have no such power. We only ask you to submit the question to the legislatures, which is the limit to which you can go, as we understand.

Mr. CHANDLER. Then, coming home to yourself and myself, you are a citizen of New York and I am a citizen of New York. The State of Nevada has only 83,000 people and the State of New York has 10,000,000. Under present methods Nevada has one vote and New York has one vote. Do you think the New York Representative ought to propose to put Nevada in a situation where she can cast one vote with New York under those conditions?

Mrs. CATT. We have nothing to do with the fact that Nevada has two Senators and New York has two Senators. We have to appeal to the political organization as it exists. We have to study the constitutions of the State and the Nation, to see how we can get this thing. We are bound and determined to have the vote. How are we going to get it? There are only two avenues open. It is not the proper thing, I think, to throw up to us that conditions politically are not quite fair and equal between the States.

Mr. CHANDLER. I hold the theory that the present system of amending the Constitution is antiquated and undemocratic, because it tends to subvert rather than promote the will of the majority in politics. I say that 20 States in this Nation have fewer votes by nine hundred and something than the State of New York.

Mrs. CATT. Certainly.

Mr. CHANDLER. I want to know, and I am asking as a matter of seriousness, and especially to you who stand so high in the councils of the parties, as to what I should do as a Representative, not only before the committee, but when the vote comes before the House—whether I should vote for the measure or vote to report out a measure that shall give 20 States of this Nation against the State of New York, when those 20 States have fewer votes and fewer people in them than the State of New York. Do you think I should do that?

Mrs. CATT. If I were sitting in your chair, Mr. Chandler, and you were standing here appealing to me for this thing, I should say this: "I am not going to have it on my conscience that in a committee I refused to allow this question to go upon its way to the legislatures of the States." I would say, "I am a Democrat in the broad sense. I believe in the will of the people, and I believe we can trust the people of the various States to do the thing that is right by this bill. I will not hold it back." That is what I would say.

Mr. CHANDLER. But the people are not doing it. The legislatures are doing it, and you give them the power to perpetrate an injustice. If you believe 20 States should not have 20 votes, having fewer votes than New York, you are trying to put it in their power to perpetrate an injustice upon the people whom you represent.

Mrs. CATT. That would apply, of course, to anything that is submitted under that method.



Mr. CHANDLER. I think you are right about that, and I should not and I shall not hereafter vote for any amendment which the people of New York do not want.

Mrs. CATT. I think that what you should do is to make new State boundaries according to population, or make a difference in the number of Senators. We women have always been punished; if there is anything wrong anywhere in any constitution, it is always visited upon woman suffrage everywhere. That is the reason why we have not the vote now, and it is a rankly unfair thing that the method provided by the Constitution is giving to them any such injustice.

Mr. CHANDLER. You understand that personally I am still for woman suffrage, and when I get a chance to vote for it I am going to do so, and if I can make speeches for it I will do that. The question is how I should act as a Representative. I make a distinction between Citizen Chandler and Representative Chandler.

Mrs. CATT. I hope as Representative Chandler you will vote "aye" on this.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask a question.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Nelson desires to ask a question, Mrs. Catt.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. Chairman, I merely want to know what the understanding is about the rights of the association later. They have only three hours, I understand, and if we take their time they will of course have less.

The CHAIRMAN. If they yield, we have no right to stop them. They were entitled to one hour and a half. They have consumed now about 30 minutes.

Mr. NELSON. Then I make the suggestion, Mr. Chairman, that we allow them to have the full time, because otherwise we disarrange their program.

Dr. SHAW. Mrs. Chapman Catt says if any gentleman would like to ask a question, she is perfectly willing to answer it, if she can.

Mr. NELSON. I have no desire to ask any question.

Dr. SHAW. Then, Mr. Chairman, I would like to present Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw, who will take charge of the remainder of our part of the hearing.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

Mr. CARLIN. Dr. Shaw, would you mind explaining to this committee the essential difference between this organization known as the National Woman Suffrage Association and the Congressional Union? There is a great deal of confusion among the members of the committee as to just what is the difference between them.

Dr. SHAW. It is, perhaps, like two different political parties, each of which believes in different procedure. The National Woman Suffrage Association has two fundamental ideas. One is to secure the suffrage through State and National constitutions, and we appeal both to the United States Congress and to the States to secure the suffrage. The Congressional Union, as I understand it, appeals only to the National Congress and does not make its appeal to the States. We believe in both methods.

Another essential difference is that the policy of the Congressional is to hold the so-called party in power responsible for the acts of the Congress, whether they are acts of that party by itself or the acts of the whole Congress together. They follow what is called a partisan method of procedure of attacking the political party in power

whether the members of it are friendly to the woman-suffrage movement or not. For instance, Senator Thomas, of Colorado, and Senator Chamberlain, of Oregon, and other Senators and gentlemen who have been favorable to our movement and who have aided us all the way along, have been attacked by this union not because of their personal attitude toward our question but because of the attitude of the whole political party. The National Woman Suffrage Association pursues a nonpartisan method, attacking no political party because of the acts of any one member of the party. But if we could defeat a member of any political party who persistently and aggressively opposed our measure we would do it, whether in the Republican or the Democratic or any other party, but never holding any political party responsible for the acts of its individual members.

So that we distinguish the difference between simply national work alone and national and State work together and nonpartisan methods of the national association. Because our methods are dissimilar there are two distinct bodies, since people who go in opposite directions can not go together.

The CHAIRMAN. How old is your organization, the one you represent?

Dr. SHAW. The one I represent was organized in 1848. During the years following 1848 there were different organizations under different names, and in 1888 they were merged in the present organization. This amendment which is before your body was introduced by us 45 years ago and has been reintroduced in every session of Congress ever since.

The CHAIRMAN. That is also supported by the Congressional Union?

Dr. SHAW. It is also supported by the Congressional Union.

The CHAIRMAN. How old is that organization?

Dr. SHAW. It is about two years old.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know when and how it was formed?

Dr. SHAW. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you tell us that, because there is confusion here among the committeemen as to why you ladies, standing for the same amendment, should be so divided in a way?

Dr. SHAW. It is because of this different method of procedure.

The CHAIRMAN. Is the Congressional Union what we know as a militant organization?

Dr. SHAW. It has been so called by some people.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you tell us how it was formed and when, please?

Dr. SHAW. May I ask if this is taken out of our time?

The CHAIRMAN. I guess not. It is a part of the hearing, though, because the committee would like to have these facts.

Dr. SHAW. The National Woman Suffrage Association has a regularly appointed committee of its body known as the Congressional Committee. Three years ago we appointed this committee. At its head we placed the name of Miss Alice Paul as its chairman, and Lucy Burns as vice chairman of the committee. They acted in our behalf for a portion of a year, when they began to introduce these different methods of procedure, which were contrary to the rules of the association; and because of that, the association protested against what it considered somewhat semimilitant methods, of which our association does not approve--of this partisan method, which we directly oppose, and one or two other minor methods which do not

concern this body, which interfered with the rules and standing laws of our organization. At the close of that year, when we reappointed our committee, we did not appoint the same ladies as chairman and vice chairman of the committee. In the meantime, in order to assist the passage of our bill, the ladies had organized in this city under the consent of our association a group of the Washington women, because we feel we need just what the men do in their work—social and political backing, in order to help put our measure through Congress. These ladies were organized, not as a distinct and separate body from our association, but as an aid to the congressional committee of the National Woman Suffrage Association. As soon as we appointed different leaders of our committee, chairman and members of our committee, the young ladies who were at the head of this committee prior to this took this organization and made it into a separate group—a separate body—over which they now preside as its officers, and they followed the same methods in their separate organization which they undertook to follow inside of our organization, and which differ from ours, and that is the reason there are two organizations.

The CHAIRMAN. Did your organization ever vote out this Congressional Union?

Dr. SHAW. No, we did not vote it out. There was a form of auxiliaryship by which they and others were part of our body. Then we changed our constitution, and they withdrew from that form of auxiliaryship, and asked to be reinstated in another form. The association declined to reinstate them because, as I have said, they would not agree to follow the policies of our association, of nonpartisanship, and one or two other things.

Mr. CARLIN. Under that plan of organization, you mean their duty and policy is opposed entirely to Democrats?

Dr. SHAW. Since you are the party in power.

Mr. CARLIN. You do not know of any circumstance where they have attempted to defeat a Republican whether he voted against their measure or not?

Dr. SHAW. I have never know of any such. There may have been such, but I have never known of it.

The CHAIRMAN. You referred to Senator Thomas. Do you mean the Congressional Union opposed him for reelection, although he had been a strong advocate of woman suffrage for 20 years?

Dr. SHAW. Senator Thomas of Colorado, Senator Chamberlain of Oregon, and Senator Smith of Arizona, who were the Senators to be returned from States where women vote, were all opposed by the Congressional Union; not only they, but all congressmen who were to be reelected from their States; all Democratic congressmen. The National Associations, through me, its president, did everything we could to help reelect these congressmen, not because they were Democrats, but because they had been loyal to our measure. We are no more friendly to the Democratic party than to the Republican, but we are friendly to our friends.

Mr. Moss. How does the membership of the two organizations compare numerically?

Dr. SHAW. I have no knowledge whatever of the membership of the Congressional Union, or how the membership compares. One is a dues-paying membership, and the other is not. If we should take

our dues-paying membership, I suppose our membership would be very much larger. If we take our nondues-paying membership, it is a great deal larger. In fact, we are probably five or six times as large as the Congressional Union.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know how the Congressional Union is financed?

Dr. SHAW. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any information as to that?

Dr. SHAW. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Your organization is financed by dues?

Dr. SHAW. Partly by dues and partly by contributions from its members and its friends. Our financial committee reports monthly. We have a bulletin in which, every month, we announce the names of the donors of every amount from 10 cents upward, any amount that is given to our organization.

Mr. WHALEY. Has your association any paid lobbyists who frequent this building? There has been a charge in the papers that there is an insidious lobby connected with this movement. Have you any paid lobbyist here?

Dr. SHAW. I know of no paid lobbyist here.

Mr. WHALEY. Have you any employed electioneers who go around here among the Members of Congress?

Dr. SHAW. No. If you mean organizers to go out in the field—

Mr. WHALEY (interrupting). I mean who go around and lobby the Members or electioneer the Members.

Dr. SHAW. No; we have no paid members. We have our congressional committee, at whose head is Mrs. Medill McCormick, of Chicago.

Mr. WHALEY. All volunteers?

Dr. SHAW. Yes, sir.

### STATEMENT OF MISS ALICE STONE BLACKWELL.

Mrs. LAIDLAW. Mr. Chairman, the next speaker will be Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, who is well known to the country as an expert on suffrage, editor of the *Woman's Journal*, editor of one of our leading papers, and, as I say, well known throughout the country.

Miss BLACKWELL. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, we are asking you to do a thing which is absolutely in line with the trend of the times. Very few people who have not made a specialty of this subject have any idea how far woman suffrage has already come or how fast it is already coming. I am going to ask you in that connection to hear not anybody's theory but the facts of the case.

One hundred years ago women could not vote anywhere except at municipal elections in Sweden, and a few other places in the Old World—in Europe. During the forty years from 1830 to 1870, women were given full suffrage in Wyoming, municipal suffrage in England, Finland, Victoria, and New South Wales, and school suffrage in Kentucky, Kansas, and Ontario.

I want you to notice how it increased in geometrical ratio, how much faster it goes as we come forward in time. In the 20 years from 1870 to 1890, women were given municipal suffrage in Kansas, Scotland, New Zealand, South and West Australia, Tasmania,

Iceland, Ontario, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Quebec, British Columbia, and the Northwest Territory; school suffrage in Michigan, Minnesota, Colorado, New Hampshire, Oregon, Massachusetts, New York, Vermont, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, Arizona, Oklahoma, and New Jersey; and full suffrage in the Isle of Man. In Montana tax-paying women were given a vote upon all questions submitted to the taxpayers.

In the 20 years from 1890 to 1910 women were given full suffrage in Colorado, Idaho, Utah, Norway, Finland, New Zealand, South and West Australia, Tasmania, Queensland, Victoria, and New South Wales; municipal suffrage in Iceland, Denmark, and the Province of Vorarlburg (Austrian Tyrol); and school suffrage in Illinois, Connecticut, Ohio, Delaware, and Wisconsin. In Louisiana, in Michigan, and in all the towns and villages of New York taxpaying women were given a vote on questions of total taxation. In Iowa and Kansas women were given a vote on bonding propositions, and in Minnesota for library trustees. In France women engaged in trade were given a vote for judges of the tribunals of commerce, and in Belgium women were given the vote for the Conseils des Prudhommes.

In the six years, 1910 to 1915, inclusive, women were given full suffrage in California, Washington, Oregon, Kansas, Arizona, Montana, Nevada, Alaska, Iceland, Denmark, and Bosnia; municipal and presidential suffrage in Illinois; municipal suffrage in South Africa, in Laibach (Austria), Baroda (India), and Belize (Honduras); and school suffrage in New Mexico. Woman taxpayers were given a vote upon bonding propositions in all the first-class cities of New York State. The Kingdom of Wurtemberg gave women engaged in agriculture a vote for members of the chamber of agriculture; the Province of Saskatchewan extended municipal suffrage; and a number of individual cities, from St. John, New Brunswick, to Fellsmere, Fla., extended local rights of suffrage to women.

In Kansas the first time a constitutional amendment for woman suffrage was submitted to the voters, it got only 9,100 votes. The second time it got 95,302; and the third time it got 175,376, and carried.

In the State of Washington it was defeated the first time by 19,386, the second time by 9,832, and the third time it carried by 22,623.

In Nebraska the first time it was snowed under almost three to one. In 1914 it came so near passing that a change of less than 5,000 votes in a total of 189,819 would have carried it.

In South Dakota it was defeated in 1910 by 22,520, and in 1914 by only 11,914; and the legislature has already voted to resubmit it.

In Massachusetts in 1895 the men's vote stood 87,000 in favor to 187,000 opposed, considerable more than two to one against. In 1915, their vote stood 162,000 in favor to 295,000 opposed, considerably less than two to one against; and in 1895 the proposition was for municipal suffrage only, while in 1915 it covered the right to vote for all the state and national officers.

In Colorado and California, woman suffrage was defeated upon the first submission and carried on the second. In Oregon it was defeated five times and was carried the sixth.

You will observe this movement is world wide, and that the tendency is all one way. During all that time there can not be a single backward step pointed out. There are now 10 States where the question has been submitted to the voters more than once, at intervals

of some years. In 8 of the 10, the latest vote was more favorable to suffrage than the preceding one. The only exceptions were Ohio and Michigan. In Ohio it was submitted first at a special election, where there were only constitutional amendments to be voted upon. Suffrage got 45 per cent of the total vote cast on the question. Two years later it was submitted at a general election, and it got 39.5 per cent of larger total vote cast upon the question. The vote that comes out when constitutional amendments alone are to be voted upon is not only a smaller but a more thoughtful vote than the great miscellaneous vote that comes out at a gubernatorial election. This accounts for the slightly smaller percentage that suffrage got the second time.

In Michigan, the liquor interests believed that the suffrage amendment had no chance of carrying, and no organized fight against it, until a very short time before election, when it got scared and began to work against it, but then it was too late. Suffrage was a very close vote, and was immediately resubmitted. This time the liquor interest was thoroughly frightened and put up the fight of its life. Its speakers told people in dry counties that women would vote for wet, and told the people in the wet counties that women would vote dry, and made every possible appeal to every possible prejudice. Partly in consequence of the campaign made by the liquor interests, and partly because on the second submission the vote was taken at the spring election, when inclement weather and other circumstances kept the rural vote from coming out as largely as usual, suffrage was defeated by a much increased majority.

Commenting upon this, the Kalamazoo Gazette said:

Last fall liquor dealers vigorously denied any connection with the fight against women, but this spring they almost openly boasted of it. There is no doubt that thousands of dollars were sent into the State by outside liquor organizations, and it was this "barrel of slush" that, more than any other one thing, compassed the undoing of the suffragists.

The Port Huron Times-Herald said:

There is no denying that the liquor interests took a prominent part in the defeat of suffrage. They worked openly against it.

The Detroit Journal said:

Fight was made throughout the State by liquor interests. They made an intense and thorough campaign.

The Detroit Times:

There was plenty of money from the sale of beer and whisky to finance opposition that was open.

The Bay City Tribune said:

The liquor interests of the State were solidly arrayed against them (the women). To them, as they faced the question, woman suffrage meant a stronger probability of prohibition. Unquestionably their influence, more than anything else, caused the defeat of the amendment. In every county in the State they were out strongly against it.

The Lansing Journal said:

For the liquor interests it (the defeat of suffrage) was an expensive victory. In time they will pay back ten times over what they have won. Their open and unabashed stand has driven home as nothing else could the fact that they have their hand on the affairs of the State, and that is a dangerous thing for any interest or coalition of interests which lives from year to year by the indulgence of the public to prove.

The opponents of suffrage lay more stress upon these two cases, Ohio and Michigan, than upon the eight States where the suffrage vote improved.

Then I want to call your attention to the fact that there are now 12 States of the Union where the women have the right to vote for President of the United States, and that at the last presidential election there were only 6. You will be told, when the antisuffragists have their innings, that this question is losing ground. I think that fact is a pretty good sign as to whether it is coming or going. We say it is coming, and they say it is going. We point out there are to-day 12 States where women have the presidential vote, and at the last presidential election, less than four years ago, there were only 6.

I want now to call your attention to the size of the vote in the four campaign States of this year. This is how four of the most conservative States of the Union voted on this question. This was at a time when there was a wave of conservatism sweeping over the Nation, and yet in those States the woman's suffrage proposition got a bigger vote than the Republican Party got at the last election.

In Massachusetts suffrage received 162,615 votes and the Republican vote was 155,948. In New York the suffrage vote was 535,000 and the Republican vote 455,428. In New Jersey the suffrage vote was 103,282 and the Republican vote 88,835. In Pennsylvania the suffrage vote was 385,028 and the Republican vote 273,505. I think when this is happening in the most conservative States in the Nation, and in a particularly conservative year, it is a sign that the thing is on the way.

I should have liked to have had asked of me the question that was asked of Mrs. Catt, and I will take a few moments of my time to say what I should have said, because I think it is an honest question, and many members will be asked these things this year, and I will tell you how I should answer it if I were placed in that position.

I should like to ask the gentleman [Mr. Chandler] whether he considers he only represents the men of his district or the people of his district.

Mr. CHANDLER. I represent all the people of my district, and on that basis the argument is still against you, because the majority of the women of my district, as well as the majority of the men, are against you.

Miss BLACKWELL. There is where I believe you are absolutely mistaken, because you have not investigated.

Mr. CHANDLER. But I have investigated. I have no right to make an assertion without feeling I have a reasonable basis of certainty for it. I have from time to time sent out to all registered voters in my district interrogations of various kinds, and I get answers; it may be said that the women of my district know in a general way I am for woman's suffrage, and notwithstanding that fact the ratio of those who answer is about three or four to one against it—three or four against it to one in favor of it.

Miss BLACKWELL. In your district?

Mr. CHANDLER. In my district, yes. I will say another thing to you—that I am thoroughly convinced that when the men of the district go against anything the women are also against it, because I do not believe the men of my district would fly in the face of the

women of the district. I may be wrong about that, but that is my belief, anyway.

Miss BLACKWELL. But it has been absolutely disproved in the State of Illinois that when the men want a particular thing the women will be for it. In Illinois, where the women have been given the right to vote on the liquor question, in a large number of the districts it was found that the women went one way by a large majority, while the men went the other way. I think when you talk about the women in your district following the men that way, that would indicate in your particular district it might be the case; but it was not the case in any other district I ever heard of. In every case where we have had petitions for and against suffrage, the petitioners have always outnumbered the remonstrants, generally 50 to 1. In my own State our enrollment is more than double, according to their own figures, and also obtained in a shorter time.

Mr. CHANDLER. Have you not conducted a more active propaganda than the antisuffrage people?

Miss BLACKWELL. If so, it would indicate we are more interested or there are more of us.

Mr. CHANDLER. In other words, you are the attacking party, and you have to capture the fort. Is not that a fact?

Miss BLACKWELL. Yes; that is the case.

Mr. CHANDLER. Permit me to ask this question: Is it not a fact that when you say one thing and I say another, and we have no really reliable figures on which to base it, the only thing a congressman can act upon is the deliberately expressed will of the people at the ballot box?

Miss BLACKWELL. You would have to go according to your own opinion or conscience, as shown by the majority in your district.

Mr. VOLSTEAD. Mr. Chairman, I would like to suggest that the members of the committee should refrain from asking any more questions than necessary, or we will be at this a much longer time than we had intended to devote to it.

Miss BLACKWELL. In this case I was responsible myself.

If I were a member of Congress, and if I had been elected with knowledge of my principles on a given question, I should feel at liberty to vote as I thought best.

Mr. CHANDLER. But the people did not elect me on that plank in my platform, because they voted 2,000 against it. I will make this suggestion and then I will stop: I am sincerely personally devoted to the interests of suffrage. I have voted for it. I have made speeches for it. At the last session of Congress I voted for the amendment. But the question is whether I, as a Representative in the Congress, have a right to fly in the face of the recently deliberately and overwhelmingly expressed desires of the people of my district.

Miss BLACKWELL. I personally would feel that I had a right to vote for the interests of my district, even if I felt that my district was deluded on that subject. [Laughter.]



### STATEMENT OF MISS CAROLINE RUUTZ REES.

**Mrs. LAIDLAW.** Mr. Chairman, we do not feel overwhelmed any more than the Republican Party did after the last election. The next speaker is Miss Caroline Ruutz Rees, of Connecticut.

**Miss REES.** Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, your question to Dr. Shaw brought out a matter upon which I had intended to speak; that is, with reference to the National American Woman's Suffrage Association. But as the remarks I intend to make are very brief, and it never does any harm to say good things twice, I trespass upon your patience to this extent.

The National American Woman's Suffrage Association formulates and expresses the policy of 63 member associations all over the United States. Dating back in its present form to the year 1878, when an amalgamation of the two then existing national societies was effected, it has behind it a long history of active work both for State and for Federal suffrage. Those States which are now enfranchised owe much to its aid and support, and it has in all State campaigns given valuable aid, for example in the recent campaigns of four Eastern States it helped both with money and with experienced workers, and its president, the famous orator, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, gave over 200 speeches.

The work for State suffrage, however, is only one side of the activities of this association. The other side is represented by the work of its congressional committee. For 40 years this committee has supported and pushed in Congress what is known as the Susan B. Anthony amendment, and the present committee is again prepared to forward the passage of this amendment by every means in its power. Believing that the probability of the passage of the Susan B. Anthony amendment would be greatly increased by additions to the number of fully enfranchised States, the association has for the past two years pushed that subsidiary measure known as the Shafroth amendment designed to give individual States the opportunity of enfranchising their women of their own motion, through petition and referendum, without compulsion through Federal action and without the previous action of their legislatures. But this amendment has never been considered by the national association as an alternative to the Susan B. Anthony amendment, but rather as constituting a flank movement in the onward struggle for Nation-wide enfranchisement of our women.

In its effort to procure the passage of these amendments in its propaganda and campaigns, the association has steadily maintained a nonpartisan attitude so far as it had power to help the friends of suffrage, and considering as antagonists only those who are opposed to this reform. It has never held those individuals who have shown themselves its friends responsible for the failure of the party to pass its measures. It has never forgotten that it may have to look for help in amending the State constitutions or in ratifying an amendment passed by Congress to the adherents of a party unfriendly to a Federal amendment, and it does not believe in antagonizing these individuals by condemning every member of such a party.

The National American Woman's Suffrage Association believes in educating the public until the demand for the enfranchisement of women becomes so strong as to be irresistible. The enormous change

of opinion in that public within the past few years inspires the association to hope for the speedy conclusion of its labors with the granting of political freedom to women throughout the United States.

### STATEMENT OF MRS. HARRIET STOKES THOMPSON.

Mrs. LAIDLAW. Mr. Chairman, our next speaker is Mrs. Harriet Stokes Thompson, educator from Chicago, a social worker well known there.

Mrs. THOMPSON. Mr. Chairman, I wish to remind you that man consists of a head and a heart. I hope that we come to all these questions with both the head and the heart speaking. I wish to make my appeal this morning to both your intellect and your sympathies when I speak to you in behalf of the nine million or ten million women who are out to-day assuming their part in the industrial world and making it possible for this great nation to industrially stand as an equal of all other nations, and to support the industrial life of this world. These women are in the industries, in the shops, the mills and factories. In former times we did this same work in our homes, and the invention of the application of steam to move the wheels of industry was the first cry for women's suffrage. When woman went from her home into the factory to do the work that men had always done, she lost the control of the conditions under which she should work. From that day on woman has been absolutely unprotected other than as man has given his aid there. A man may speak for himself, but where large aggregations of women are concerned they need to have some voice in the legislative protection just as well as the men needed.

It is believed that no large group of women workers would feel that their interests were properly protected in their labors if they could not refer it back to legislative action. We know that all industrial questions in their final analysis are legislative factors. The women who are working in the shops and factories have simply followed the evolution of industry. It is not that they have entered into man's work at all, because they are doing the work which they formerly did in their homes, and I am asking to-day that you give to them power to protect themselves in their work. They are working long hours, and these women of to-day, the girls working there now, are the mothers of the generation to come; and that they may be well protected in their hours of labor, in the conditions under which they work, that they may become mothers of healthful children in the future, that we may care for the future generation, we are asking that they may come up and speak with authority in the legislative chambers. That they do not have to send lobbyists asking that hours of labor be such as to make their labor healthful, that sanitary conditions and even protection to life may be accorded to them, that they may have their representatives in the legislative chambers, is my plea to-day.

I hope that you represent the fatherhood of this Nation as well as the legislators, and that you feel under obligations to protect these workers, to give them a chance to protect themselves.

We are aware of the absolute danger to life of the millions crowded in the unhealthful workshops, and that these are absolutely beyond the control of the women workers engaged therein.

I wish to speak to you, too, for another large group of women, the teachers of the United States. I myself am one of those who stand before the children of this great Nation day after day. I wish to say that the teachers of the Nation are seeing to it that the boys of the next generation are coming up with this fine sense of justice to their mothers and sisters and an appreciation of the fact that intellect and judgment and sympathy are not sex expressions, that there is intellect in womanhood, there is sympathy, and there are humanitarian ideas and good judgment. The boys in our schools are no longer feeling that this is a matter of legislation belonging only to the male sex. I hope the Sixty-fourth Congress will see to it that they are the ones who write into the statutes of this great Nation this matter of simple justice, and that they will not leave it to a future generation. The pages of history record the deeds of those who stood for humanitarian ideas and for justice, and we hope that this Congress will have its name enrolled on the pages of history as one that has done justice to the working women of the United States and placed them in a position to defend and protect their own interests, just as you accord to the foreigners a right to protect his industrial life.

I wish as a teacher to speak to you on another viewpoint of this great question. The teachers of this country should be made citizens in order that they may keep both the letter and the spirit of this democratic country in their teachings. I have lived in my own State to know the difference in the spirit with which you teach citizenship when you yourself are a citizen. A slave can not teach freedom. A slave can not comprehend the spirit of freedom. Neither can a woman who is not a citizen comprehend the spirit of true citizenship. The teachers of Illinois have come to their work with a new life and a new zest and a new responsibility, if you please, in their teachings of citizenship to the children of the State of Illinois, and we expect to send our boys out in the next generation with a finer appreciation of what it means to render public service to a whole community and not a part or a fraction thereof.

We also recognize the fact in the great State of Illinois that our men are feeling that in every good work which they undertake in the State of Illinois a great help has been given to them in their work. In Illinois whenever a man stands for a thing which is for the best interests of the community they are more than pleased to have the help of the women, and in our city of Chicago organized groups all over that city are holding sessions where they are teaching and helping in this matter of developing a finer sense of obligation to the State.

MR. VOLSTEAD. Have you a teachers' association in the State of Illinois?

Mrs. THOMPSON. Yes, sir.

MR. VOLSTEAD. Has this question ever been put before the association?

Mrs. THOMPSON. Yes, sir.

MR. VOLSTEAD. What was the result?

Mrs. THOMPSON. Almost unanimously in favor of woman suffrage. The question has been brought up before the State Association of Teachers of Illinois for the last three years, and invariably there has been an overwhelming majority in favor and no minority.

MR. VOLSTEAD. That association is composed of both men and women?

Mrs. THOMPSON. Yes, sir.

**STATEMENT OF MRS. GEORGE BASS.**

Mrs. LAIDLAW. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, another woman voter from Chicago is Mrs. George Bass, a well-known social worker there, who will now address your committee.

Mrs. BASS. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee. With the last speaker I am the only woman voter who is to talk to you to-day. I am a woman voter in Illinois and in Chicago, and a member of the Democratic party, so I at least have a practical knowledge of the subject which is before you, and I would wish that my time might be taken up in answering questions, because the group of women who are to come before you either to-day or to-morrow, or some other time, who call themselves "antis," use, we believe, a lot of arguments in regard to the States where suffrage is an existing reality that are specious. Their figures, like all statistics, are capable of several interpretations. I would like very much if I might have made my speech after they had made theirs, but I suppose under your ruling I must make it now and leave out all reference to the "antis" and their arguments, because I only have 10 minutes and I have used probably two of them in this preliminary. However, I did deem it a statement that was of sufficient importance to name, and for this reason:

You heard in the first two speeches made before you this morning the great theoreticians of the suffrage movement of this country, the great orators of the suffrage movement of this country. You heard the two women who, although of not great age themselves, belong to the older group of suffragists, who belong to the group who base every argument for the suffrage on an entirely different ground from that which I base mine, and I believe that I represent the suffrage sentiment of the women of the mid-West and of the great West of this country, because conditions here in the East are settled; they are so settled that with all the wonderful, devoted sacrificing work of these two women, of Mrs. Laidlaw, who presides at this hearing for us, and and of all the other wonderful women of New York and Massachusetts and New Jersey, they had to cope with such forces against them they were not able to carry their States and they were defeated by such a majority that you men feel, and I know you feel, it was an overwhelming expression of sentiment. I know there were reasons for that majority that had nothing to do with sentiment. I know there are great forces, great corporate forces, in this country that are opposed to women's votes, that they fear it, that they distrust it, that they distrust the effect of woman citizenship.

I speak whereof I know, because I have been one of those who have insisted that on one or two of the great moral questions that are perhaps more definitely before the politics of this country, women were divided on those questions as the men were; that on prohibition the women were divided as the men were; that that is a thing of sex; but in New York, in September, the heads of the great national organization of one of these institutions did not hesitate to tell me that they now regard the two great moral movements as likely to become the subjects of passage by the Congress of the United States within the next three or four years, and that they consider women were their enemies, and that as to one of these movements, as to

the woman's suffrage movements, they should use every means within their power and within the power of their lobbies to defeat it, and that they should delay it as long as it was possible, but they recognized that it is coming. That being so, and knowing that one great political leader—great as far as power is concerned in one or two counties in New Jersey, which has a three-fifths requirement—has been said in the public press to have spent more than half a million in two counties alone to defeat suffrage, and he never denied it. Knowing those things I feel the defeats were chargeable not to the sentiment of the women and men of the east so much as to the use of these great forces and organizations that are opposed to the woman's vote, because they distrust it.

That brings me to the only point I am able to make in the few minutes that are left me. It is this: We ask you to make women citizens of the United States, full voting citizens so far as lies within your power, by passing this amendment and sending the question to the State legislatures, not because we believe women will be good citizens—that is the standpoint that some of the speakers have to take—but I take it because women are good citizens. Women have proven that they are good citizens. That is the reason that we women have the vote in Illinois, and we have two-thirds of the vote, and we have all of the vote in Illinois that women are asking the United States for; and I would enjoy it myself—at least if I could develop to you this morning why the women want the vote nowadays and just what part of the citizenship of the country they are interested in, and what part of the duties of citizenship they are doing. We have all the vote in Illinois now that concerns the citizenship that interests us, because citizenship is differentiated between men and women, because the duties of men are differentiated from those of women, and have been differentiated since the beginning of time. In the building and developing of these great urban communities in the West and in the Mid-West—it is true also in the East, but there it was recognized by the men because we were all pioneers together—we are only one generation removed from the earliest pioneers, and it was recognized by our men from the beginning that in the building up of these communities, in the building up of these great cities, there were certain duties that would fall to the women. We had our growth, in those cities, along with the development of the great industrial systems of the United States, and with the movement of the women out of the homes and into the industries the spinning wheel found its way to the attic, and our women now work at the great looms in the factories of this country, and they are in the offices, and the shops, and the department stores, and in every branch of the Government work, of course, and in the schools teaching the children, because the home and the school have been socialized. Women have had indirectly to develop these processes all over this country. There might have been a juvenile court in the world that could have taken care of our dependent children if the women had not done it, but there was not a juvenile court until the women brought it about.

We passed in Illinois the first juvenile court law and established the first juvenile court system in the world, which has been copied all over the world. We have established and differentiated our procedure until it separates potential criminals from criminals who are adults. We have passed all over the West all the sanitary laws that care for

the lives of our people. Milk commissions have been established by the women that look after the lives and health of the children, our future citizens, and we have done it indirectly until we have come to the place where we have had to ask that we might do it directly, and so we ask you to give the cause of woman suffrage this advancement, to give the women of the country that same chance.

MR. WHALEY. May I inquire to what extent the women of Illinois vote?

MRS. BASS. They vote for the President of the United States, which is a fine, big thing, of course, and then they vote for the things that they care most about, and that is the city councils of all the cities.

MR. WHALEY. Not for the Congressmen?

MRS. BASS. Not Congressmen, no.

MRS. THOMPSON. I would like to say, Mr. Chairman, that indirectly we do vote for Congressmen, because we do help absolutely to formulate public opinion in the State of Illinois. We do enter into the congressional life of the State of Illinois in that way.

MR. WHALEY. You are doing that without the vote?

MRS. THOMPSON. We are doing it without the vote, but we will do it more directly with the vote.

MR. WHALEY. More effectively?

MRS. THOMPSON. Yes, certainly.

MRS. BASS. May I answer that still further by saying that some of us are in every campaign, congressional and State, and it is a little difficult for the voter to distinguish in his own mind the things we vote for and those we talk for.

#### STATEMENT OF MRS. PATTIE RUFFNER JACOBS, OF ALABAMA.

MRS. LAIDLAW. Mr. Chairman, we are next to hear from our only representative from the solid South, and I feel sure she should have her full 10 minutes. I take pleasure in introducing Mrs. Hattie Ruffner Jacobs, of Alabama.

MRS. JACOBS. I was very much pleased to learn, gentlemen, that there are a great many Southern men on this committee, and it is to those men that I shall address my remarks particularly, but I hope everybody will listen.

I come from the State of Alabama, where women are the logical sex, where they practice consistency. Lest this may surprise you too much, I shall give you the basis for this assertion, and that is that we women of Alabama, we suffragists, have preferred to get our enfranchisement through the State legislature before we appealed to the Federal Congress, and we have never appealed before. The reason we are doing so now is that last January our bill was introduced in the legislature, requiring a three-fifths vote for passage, and failing in that, although it received a handsome majority, we felt that it was perfectly consistent and logical for us to appeal to you now, because what the legislators said in effect then was, in refusing to submit it to the individual voters at the polls, that the individual voter has no business voting on this question, "that we, the legislators, are perfectly capable and quite willing to decide the matter for them."

We are willing that all legislatures shall be permitted to decide this matter after you have voted that they may do so, but we ask

that you vote that they shall, and that is all you are able to do—simply to submit the question to the various legislatures. That is all that is within your power, and that is all we are seeking.

It is significant, it seems to me, and it seems to any other southern woman that is familiar with the situation, that there has never been a defeat of suffrage in any Southern State by referendum to the voters, the legislators admitting frankly their ability to decide the matter. Therefore we urge any and all constitutional means, any legitimate and honorable means, of having this question submitted, and you are one of the means.

When the question of suffrage was defeated last in the Congress the Hon. Oscar Underwood, of Alabama, said on the floor of the House that this was the gravest question that the House could consider, and we hope you agree with Mr. Underwood in that statement. Mr. Heflin, another Congressman from Alabama, a chivalrous gentleman from the South, said that the women of the South, particularly of his own State, did not want the suffrage by Federal means. He based this assertion upon the fact that no woman from Alabama had ever urged him to vote for suffrage; but Mr. Heflin was, and still is, unaware of the fact that the womanhood of Alabama is logical, and at the time he made that assertion he was in favor of giving the men the only chance. They have now adjourned and, as I said, have given us a handsome majority, but not the three-fifths necessary. We do not believe that this submission by you to the legislatures is any infringement upon State rights, because it is the way the Constitution itself advocates, and it is the way that the States have voluntarily agreed, all of them, southern and all the rest, shall be the proper channel.

I want to quote just a little bit. It may be stale news to some of you, and possibly you would rather not hear it; but some of you may like to hear what the southern Representatives last year said in regard to this doctrine of State rights.

Representative Saunders, of Virginia, said:

How, then, can this resolution be critically assailed as an invasion in any proper sense of State rights when it is proceeding under the Constitution, by virtue of the Constitution, and in conformity with the Constitution to amend the Constitution conformably to a reserved right contained in that very instrument? We talk as if some outrageous thing was being done to-day, as if the States were to be robbed of some precious rights in defiance of the law. Why, we are proceeding in conformity with one of the rights of the States, namely, the right to approach this body and call upon us to exercise our constitutional function by affording to the States of this Union the opportunity to determine whether or not they will amend the organic law. That is the proposition with which we are dealing to-day.

Representative Howard, of Georgia, another southerner, said:

It is a question pure and simple: Are we, as representatives of American people, so cowardly as to refuse to submit the question to them, that they may through their regularly elected legislatures express the will of a majority as to this great national problem?

Mr. Stephens, of Mississippi, expressed himself thus:

Even though an amendment shall have the effect of depriving a State of some right that it now possesses, the State has no grounds of complaint and there is no infringement of the doctrine of the State rights if such amendment is adopted in the manner prescribed by the Constitution. I contend, Mr. Speaker, that this is not an invasion of State rights. Three-fourths of the States are given the right to amend the Constitution, and it is the denial of a constitutional right granted that number of States if we assert that an amendment shall not be made to the Constitution because some State opposes the amendment.

Still another southern Representative, Mr. Tribble, of Georgia, spoke as follows:

Mr. Speaker, I shall not arbitrarily shut the door on my constituents, who should also be granted the privilege of expressing their wishes. If two-thirds of the States desire this amendment, then the one-third should not complain, but the people not agreeing with me would have a right to complain if I should force my personal views on them.

These gentlemen were, of course, discussing the great national prohibition question. I do not presume, gentlemen, to speak for all the women of the South, but I do presume to speak for those of the South who believe in and value consistency.

That great Democrat, Thomas Jefferson—and all southerners are more or less familiar with Thomas Jefferson—believed in and advocated a new Constitution entirely every 19 years. And another great Democratic Party leader said more recently:

Each generation is capable of self-government and must suit its peculiar needs, the machinery of government, and laws.

That man is a great Democratic leader, as I said.

This Federal amendment does not in any wise interfere with or regulate any new existing qualification that is imposed by the various States, unless you consider sex a qualification rather than an attribute. It is a fallacy to say that to prohibit discrimination on account of sex in any wise involves the race problem. It does not. That is a fallacy that we women contend ought not to exist, and you should not consider it for a minute. The actual working out of the principle, in case of the adoption of this amendment, would be this in the South: A very large number of white women of the South would become enfranchised when it is ratified by State legislatures, and as many or some negro women would become enfranchised as are able to meet the existing qualifications imposed by the various State constitutions.

In the 15 States below the Mason and Dixon line, there were 8,788,000 white women and 4,316,000 negro women, or 4,472,000 more white women than negro women, which is nearly four and one-half million more. Please recall that below Mason and Dixon line there are four and one-half million more white women than negro women. The total negro population; that is, both men and women, in these States, is 8,294,274, so that white women alone outnumber the total negro population by 494,627, or nearly 500,000 more white women than total negro population. In Mississippi and South Carolina there are more negro women than white women, but the same condition exists as regards the men of those States, and there is no reason to assume that the negro women of those States would be able to meet the State qualifications in any larger number than the negro men of those States.

In my own State of Alabama there are 142,000 more white women than negro women, so that if the wish of the southern people is to maintain their white supremacy, according to Chief Justice Walter Clark, of North Carolina, the white women of these States must at least be elevated to the same political plane as the negro men. Chief Justice Clark says:

It has been stated as an objection to woman's suffrage in the South that our negro cooks could vote. We can not justly disfranchise white women to keep their cooks from voting when we do not disfranchise white men to keep the cook's husband from voting.



There can not be any violation of any State's rights in your adoption of the resolution, because, as I said previously, the States have voluntarily agreed to it, and the final verdict must be rendered by the States.

I would also call your attention to the fact that any 13 States, if they are unwilling to ratify the amendment, may block the incorporation in the National Constitution of this amendment, and your action would not deprive them of that recourse. Perhaps you southern gentlemen on this committee do not think that the women of the South need the ballot for their protection. As one flowery Alabama orator explained last year in these halls:

Woman is the ward of the manhood of the country. Why, then, does she want to exercise the right of suffrage? The great cry is the women should be allowed to protect themselves. Against what? We show them every consideration, provide for their safety, protect their interests always and everywhere.

Surely this southern gentleman did not know that the State of South Carolina has more wage-earning white women than any other State in the Union, and, perhaps, he was also ignorant of the fact that in the State of South Carolina, and also in the State of Alabama, there is no law on the statute books protecting the interests of the wage-earning women, not one single law. She may work in those States incredible hours at typical wages, and these gentlemen did not seem to know that that condition did exist in those States. South Carolina and Alabama are not alone in their lack of legal provisions for the protection of the wage-earning women of the South. Florida, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Tennessee, and South Carolina, constitute the father sole guardian of the children and until changed at their last legislative sessions in some of these States, the father might even will the children away from the children if he so desired. I am happy to say that some of these States have seen the light and have changed those laws. Alabama does not possess any joint guardianship law, but the father may not will the child away. In every equal suffrage State, a coguardianship law exists. These are just a few instances that I have cited to show that southern women need the ballot just as much, if not more, than the women of any other part of the country. The trouble is this, that the average man fails, and it is not surprising that he fails, to grasp the new needs of the 9,000,000 women who are working, because he fails to grasp the fact that there are 9,000,000 women working. He still prefers to think of the southern women as a sheltered, protected being, the sort of creature he would like to have her, and he does not realize that the women in the South are really the exploited class.

According to the figures compiled by Mrs. Somerville, of Mississippi, and based on the census of 1910, there are five Southern States, each one of which has a larger percentage of white women wage earners than can be found in any State in which women vote. The percentages are these: In South Carolina, in which there is a larger percentage, as I said, than in any other State of the Union, there are 27.3 per cent of the women of that State who are wage earners; North Carolina, 24.2 per cent; Georgia, 20.3 per cent; Alabama, 20.4 per cent; Mississippi, 19.9 per cent; and Wyoming, 14.5 per cent; Idaho, 12.5 per cent; Kansas, 12.4 per cent; California, 18.4 per cent; Colorado, 16.9 per cent.

It does not make any difference how much the Southern women are told about the pedestal platitude. It appeals less and less to the intelligence of the Southern women. We have begun to realize in increasing numbers that it can not be sugarcoated into any other meaning than a stigma, a mark, a brand of our incompetency, and particularly is this true, gentlemen of the South, where the symbolism of the ballot is so marked where it is professedly based upon intelligence and morality, where you have the restricted electorate, and you exclude the white women of the South. We do not believe this is genuine chivalry, because chivalric people love justice supremely, men and women both.

The women of the South, the old South as well as of the new, it seems to me, are deserving. They proved their worthiness, their trustworthiness, 50 years ago, before I was born, before some of you were born. The Southern women of to-day love the traditions of the South, but we do not live in them. We live in the present and we enjoy and are proud of the present, that we may look forward to the future with confidence.

I wish to make this appeal as one coming from a large proportion of the women of the South who do not wish to be confined in their demands for the ballot to their own commonwealth, but would emphasize to you the nation-wide importance of enfranchising the women of this country.

I thank you. [Prolonged applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask you a question, please, Madam: Do you think that a majority of the white women of the South want to vote?

Mrs. JACOBS. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you willing to leave it to a referendum for the white women to determine?

Mrs. JACOBS. If it were legal to do so, I would be. I am glad you asked that question, Mr. Chairman. By reason of the fact that there is scarcely any organized opposition to suffrage in the South, and that also, after repeated efforts on the part of—I started to say “legalized association of antisuffragists”—I mean, the regularly organized association, the national association, has made repeated efforts in my own State of Alabama to organize an active open opposition, and they have failed to get a reputable or any other kind of a woman who is willing to undertake the job of organizing the anti-suffragists of Alabama into an association. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. All the white women of Alabama are for woman's suffrage, are they?

Mrs. JACOBS. No; not all.

The CHAIRMAN. A big majority of them?

Mrs. JACOBS. Well, a great majority, yes; a large number.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you not think that as soon as you have a big enough majority of the women in Alabama who want suffrage, you will get it in your State, and that you ought not to come here bothering Congress about something it ought not, under our form of Government, take jurisdiction of?

Mrs. JACOBS. I am very regretful that you have been bothered.

The CHAIRMAN. You have been here ten years asking this amendment and Congress has never given it to you.

Mrs. JACOBS. No; I have not. I told you this was my first time.

The CHAIRMAN. You have been here ten years asking Congress to do something that you have been gradually accomplishing yourselves in the States. A great many of us think that the right to prescribe qualifications of voters should be left with the States and with the States alone; that that is about the last sovereign prerogative the States have left them. Your organizations know that this Congress is not going to give you a submission of this amendment of the States, for about a year ago the House, not only did not give you a two-thirds vote, necessary to submit it, but an actual majority against it.

Mrs. JACOBS. No; I do not know it.

The CHAIRMAN. Why not confine your efforts to the States; take your organizations to the States and let it come, if at all, as it has been coming for the last ten years?

Mrs. JACOBS. You, I think, were not here when I made my opening remarks?

The CHAIRMAN. No; I was not.

Mrs. JACOBS. I am sorry you were not, because you would have heard me say that in Alabama—and that is, of course, the State I represent most directly—we did make an appeal to the legislature of Alabama last January, and while we obtained a very handsome majority, we did not obtain the necessary three-fifths, and that is the reason we feel it is logical and consistent to come to you, for the reason that the legislators themselves have said, "We do not want the individual voter at the polls to vote on it. We are capable of deciding it." We want you to let them decide it. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. Were you born and reared in Alabama?

Mrs. JACOBS. I was born and reared in the South. I come of most democratic parentage and inheritance, and I have children who live in the South, and I presume my interests are as much bound up in the South as any gentleman on this committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you live in Alabama now?

Mrs. JACOBS. I do; in Birmingham.

The CHAIRMAN. The point I make is that if the majority of the white women in your State, or in North Carolina, or in any other Southern State, ever become desirous of voting, my opinion is that they will probably be allowed to vote.

Mrs. JACOBS. How are we going to determine when a majority of the white women want it?

The CHAIRMAN. Whenever a majority of the white women want it the men are going to the polls and vote for it. That is what they have done in all the other States where you have secured it, and I think they will do it in any other State in the South.

Mrs. JACOBS. I want to point out to you the fact that you are not in any sense depriving the State of the right to impose restrictions through its State constitution, with the exception of the one of sex, and that is not, of course, a qualification, because it is something that is not changeable; it is an attribute.

Mr. WHALEY. You made some statement in reference to the laws of South Carolina. Were those statements the result of your own experience or were they furnished to you?

Mrs. JACOBS. Of course I have done my own research work. I did not have the Code or the laws of South Carolina available. Have I been mistaken in some statement?

Mr. WHALEY. I think you are absolutely incorrect in all of them.

Mrs. JACOBS. That, of course, remains to be proven. I think the United States Census would show that there is a larger percentage.

Mr. WHALEY. I am talking about the laws now; not your statements in reference to statistics as to the number of white and colored people in the State, but I mean in reference to the laws of South Carolina for the protection of women.

Mrs. JACOBS. The wage-earning woman—South Carolina has no law which restricts the number of hours she may work.

Mr. WHALEY. You are mistaken there.

Mrs. JACOBS. Nor has it any minimum wage law.

Mr. WHALEY. In what kind of employment is that?

Mrs. JACOBS. Any employment in which women are engaged—white women. Cotton mills, for instance.

Mr. IGOE. How many States have a minimum wage law for women?

Mrs. JACOBS. In all the equal-suffrage States they have. I have been corrected; only four States. There are five States that have a minimum-wage law, and in four of them women vote, and in one of them the women do not vote.

Mr. IGOE. Which are they?

Mrs. JACOBS. Which are they?

A VOICE. I have not my figures with me. Utah was the first. They have a minimum-wage law in California, Arizona, and Oregon, and very recently, in Arkansas. I am also told there is a minimum-wage law in Washington. I am not sure about that, but I am sure of the States I have mentioned. One nonsuffrage State is Arkansas, and that is very recent.

Mrs. LAIDLAW. I have just been notified by some one in the audience that the State factory inspector of Illinois is here, and will answer the question. May she have the floor for a moment?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Miss HELEN TODD. I was State factory inspector of Illinois for six years, and I had to keep track of the laws in the different States, and I wish to say that your statement is absolutely true. There is no regulation of the hours women may work in your State.

Mr. WHALEY. You are from Illinois, are you not?

Miss TODD. Yes.

Mr. WHALEY. Did I understand you to say there is no child-labor law in South Carolina?

Miss TODD. No. I said that the statement which this lady made, that certain women work unlimited hours, or that there is no law to limit the hours of labor of a woman there, is absolutely true.

Mrs. LAIDLAW. The next speaker would have been Mrs. Medill McCormick. She could not get here, and we wish to know if her remarks which she wanted to make may be incorporated?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. We are sorry she could not be present.

### STATEMENT OF MRS. MEDILL M'CORMICK.

Gentlemen of the committee, it is already known to you, I trust, that the National American Woman Suffrage Association, through its national congressional committee, has for the past two years been building in all the States, except the equal suffrage States, a congressional district organization for the purpose of pushing with the

utmost vigor and in systematic manner a nation-wide campaign for woman suffrage—for an amendment to the Federal Constitution. Since 1912 we have realized that the sentiment of this country in favor of woman suffrage had reached such a strength that it must be recognized as a national issue, and that the time had come when all this sentiment should be most effectively organized.

The congressional committee therefore undertook as one of its chief departments, the work of systematizing and adjusting the suffrage forces, especially for the Federal campaign. We called upon every State to establish a State congressional committee, auxiliary to the national congressional committee, and consisting of members from each and every congressional district in the State. It was to be the duty of each district chairman to be in close touch with every suffrage organization in her district, either direct or through county chairman. We also urged the States to organize, or readjust, the local suffrage groups by election districts, and thus set up a complete and close-action machinery which would be responsive equally for State or congressional purposes.

Out national committee has worked upon the basis of closest possible cooperation between the committee in Washington and the suffragists in the districts. We report to them and they to us concerning conditions and the attitude of their representative or Senator. We look to them to back up our work here, and, realizing that it is only as we are backed up by them that we accomplish anything we have devoted our best energies to the furtherance of the district organization scheme.

I can say to you now that we have our auxiliary congressional committees in practically every State. Many Members of the Senate and many more Members of the House will tell you that they are acquainted with our congressional district forces in their own constituencies. We do not mean to allow any of you to remain in ignorance of them or to forget them. We shall continue this organization work to the very last possible degree of completeness and efficiency.

Recently we have made an especial effort to secure the attention of Congress for our amendment, and I know from the reports of our State chairmen that practically every Member of the House and Senate who was not already known to be in favor of our amendment has been addressed on the subject, through public meetings, resolutions, or by delegations of women in person. Suffragists individually and in groups have asked their Representatives individually to vote for our Federal amendment. This has occurred in all the States—from Maine to Florida, and from the Atlantic to Nebraska, where the equal suffrage State boundaries begin. I have here with me, for instance, a resolution adopted by both the Georgia Woman Suffrage Association and the Georgia Men's League for Woman Suffrage, the latter numbering 1,500 members, which is more voters than were required to elect some Members of Congress. I have also a list of Kentucky women who petitioned their Representative from their district. One thousand women gathered in one Ohio district to urge their Representative to vote for our amendment, and in Vermont the State Federation of Labor, with 15,000 members, adopted resolutions asking the Senators and Representatives from that State to support us. These are a few of the resolutions which have been

adopted at meetings held throughout the country in response to our request that Members of Congress be fully informed of the wishes of their women constituents on the subject of the Federal amendment.

As a result of our congressional district work during the past few weeks and months since the last Congress adjourned, we believe that we have a very considerable increase over the strength shown when the vote was taken on this amendment last year. We are able to count very definite probabilities, even certainties, in both House and Senate. Our strength has grown to an extent which Congress itself doubtless does not fully realize.

I wonder whether you, gentlemen of the committee, have computed the number of votes that are now behind the woman-suffrage movement in this country? I do not mean the votes of women in the equal suffrage States—not those alone. I mean the popular voting strength as shown at the polls all over the country.

Nearly a million and a quarter votes were cast for woman suffrage in New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Massachusetts this fall. Nearly 800,000 were cast in Ohio, Missouri, the Dakotas, and Nebraska last fall. Besides that, since a vote won for suffrage remains for suffrage, the popular vote of the equal-suffrage States and Illinois is behind us also. The total of these figures, from 21 States, is 6,400,000 votes, which is 191,000 votes more than were cast for President Wilson in 48 States. Would Congress fail to recognize such voting strength upon any other issue? Would it fail to pass any other constitutional amendment behind which there was such a force as that?

It is because of the Nation-wide sentiment in favor of woman suffrage, expressed both at the polls and otherwise, as well as because of the inherent righteousness and justice of our cause, that we ask you to secure for us a vote in the House and the passage of the Susan B. Anthony amendment to the Federal Constitution.

Miss LAIDLAW. In thanking this committee for the very courteous hearing which they have given us, in the name of the association and the suffragists at large, I wish to ask you for as large a number of printed copies of this hearing as may be compatible with economy.

The CHAIRMAN. We will be very glad to furnish you with them.

A VOICE. We would like to look it over.

The CHAIRMAN. You ladies may go to the stenographers and revise your remarks in any respect, and add to them, if you desire.

Miss LAIDLAW. We thank you, gentlemen.

## CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

The CHAIRMAN. The chairman will now recognize some representative from the Congressional Union for one hour and a half. If the Congressional Union has a representative present, we will be glad to hear from her. You have an hour and a half's time now. Please announce the person who will control the time.

Miss ALICE PAUL. I will control the time. May we introduce, as our first speaker, Mrs. Andreas Ueland, president of the Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association.

**STATEMENT OF MRS. ANDREAS UELAND.**

Mrs. UELAND. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, in Minnesota the constitution is so worded that it is almost impossible to pass any amendment to it. It is practically prohibitive of any amendment that has any opposition. We have to have, in Minnesota, a majority of the largest number of votes cast, not, as in most States, a majority of the votes cast on the question; which means, as you know, that every man who is indifferent might just as well vote "No." So it is, under our constitution, at present practically impossible for woman suffrage to pass. Therefore we are particularly interested in the Federal amendment. We are very much in hopes that Minnesota women may become enfranchised by that route. I want to tell you, gentlemen, that the women of Minnesota very much desire their enfranchisement. The Federation of Women's Clubs several years ago almost unanimously passed a resolution, and the State Teachers' Association passed a resolution some years ago, in favor of woman suffrage, and the W. C. T. U. is unanimously in favor of the movement. We have thousands of women, mothers and housekeepers, who very much desire to vote. These women are, most of them, or at least many of them, the leading women in the various civic and philanthropic organizations of the State, women of the Y. W. C. A., and women associated with charitable and other civic bodies. They all feel the need of the power to vote. We very much want to ask you, gentlemen, to help us in Minnesota.

In that State last year there were 11 amendments submitted to the people. Only 1 of the 11 amendments passed, and that was an amendment to which there was no opposition.

The vote is admittedly a symbol of confidence and respect which the Commonwealth bestows upon its citizens, and we ask you, gentlemen of this committee, to help us in Minnesota to get this symbol and to give us our enfranchisement. I thank you.

The CHAIRMAN (to Miss Paul). Will you please state your relationship to the Congressional Union?

Miss PAUL. I am chairman of the executive committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is president of that organization?

Miss PAUL. We have no president; I am the chairman. The executive officer of the union is called chairman not president.

The CHAIRMAN. You are called chairman, then?

Miss PAUL. Yes, sir.

**STATEMENT OF MISS MABEL VERNON, OF NEVADA.**

Miss PAUL. I will now introduce Miss Mabel Vernon, who is a qualified voter in the State of Nevada and who campaigned in that State and helped to win it for woman suffrage.

Miss VERNON. Mr. Chairman and members of the Judiciary Committee, the reason that we women come bothering Congress with a question of this kind is because we believe that woman suffrage is a national question which deeply concerns the women of this entire country; and if we do not come presenting our own case we fear that it will not be presented at all. [Applause.]

The reason I dare to say that woman suffrage is a national question is because, first of all, we believe that citizenship is a fundamental

thing in the Nation itself, and a question which concerns all the women of the Nation. Why, gentlemen, we women believe in the rights of the States just as much as do some of the men who sit upon this committee; but we look upon the rights of the States to deal certain local problems of which the Nation can have no knowledge and in which it has no concern. But woman suffrage is not that kind of question.

You will find in every State of this Union, gentlemen, that there is a movement for woman suffrage. Certainly you will find that it can not be called a local issue just within the individual States, because you find that the women of every State of this country feel more or less alike about this; and if it is right that the women of 1 State, or of 12 States, of this country shall have the right to vote, it is right that the women of the Nation shall have the right to vote. Why should it be possible for me to go out into the State of Nevada and live there six months, thereby acquiring citizenship in that State and the right to vote in that State, and why, in contrast to that, just as soon as I return to my own native State, Delaware, where I have lived a good many years—ever since I was born—shall I be immediately deprived of that right to vote which I gained in another part of this country?

Another reason we think this question goes beyond a local interest and has aspects that are national in scope is, that we find here in Congress, if put into execution, a simple means of attaining our object, by amending the Constitution of the United States. This means has been laid down by the Constitution of the United States, and is a perfectly proper and just means.

We know that the constitutions of States could be amended in order to give women the right to vote. We women know it better than anybody else, because we have spent many years in endeavoring to amend these same constitutions. But, while we have not succeeded in such a great number of the States, it is certainly a sufficient number to give to the women of this country some prestige in the Congress of the United States. When we realize that one-sixth of the men who sit in the House of Representatives come from States where women are voting and whose constituents are actually women, as well as men, does not that take it out of the category of a local problem? That fact ought to be entitled to some consideration in taking the question of women suffrage out of the States and elevating it to where it may be considered as a national question.

One reason why we are before you is because this measure has already been voted upon in both Houses of Congress. By your own action you have recognized this question as a national matter, otherwise you would not have given it consideration by voting upon the question, which by that act you acknowledge belongs rightfully within the Halls of Congress.

Just one more word. I have been spending the summer out in the western part of this country, out in the States where women do vote, and, as I have gone through those States, I have spoken of an amendment to the Constitution of the United States that will enfranchise the women of this country. Do you think the people out there in those States told us to go away, to return to the eastern part of the country and pursue our cause in the States where it is not yet won? They did not. The women out there—at least many of them—said,



"If there is anything that we can do to help make women suffrage nation wide we want to do it." The people out there in those equal-suffrage States are taking the stand that if it is right for the women of those States to vote it is right for the women of the Nation to vote. They asked us, "What can we do to help the cause?" Our answer is and always has been, "Use your power in the place where you have power. You women of the West can not help in Pennsylvania or New Jersey. You can not leave your homes and go over there and preach woman suffrage, but you can help in the Congress of the United States, where you are sending your Representatives." And, gentlemen, the fact of the matter is that those very women are trying to help the cause through their Representatives. The women of the West can not do more than that. But they are showing the right spirit. This question which we are discussing before you is of paramount importance to the women of this country. It is not a local question, not a State question, but a question of the Nation itself. [Applause.]

Miss PAUL. The next speaker I will introduce is Mrs. Jennie Law Hardy, who is a voter in Australia, and is now living in the State of Michigan.

#### STATEMENT OF MRS. JENNIE LAW HARDY.

Mrs. HARDY. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I speak from the standpoint of a woman proud of her citizenship, who has voted in her native country and has lost her freedom by coming to this "land of the free." [Laughter.] It has been my lot to work in many countries for suffrage. I was through the campaign in 1893 in New Zealand and in the campaign of 1902 in Australia, and I worked for suffrage in Italy and in Austria-Hungary. I was also the chairman of the legislative committee in Michigan which twice carried the amendment through the Michigan Legislature. And in my experience there is nothing that has struck me more, in coming to the United States, than the fact that the United States is the only country in the world which asks women to go to the individual voter in order to gain the right to vote. The governing body everywhere is the one that bestows suffrage. Call it the Reichstag, call it the Storthing, or call it the Parliament—it is the same governing body which bestows suffrage.

As I speak several languages, I have been sent into various States here to appeal to the individual voters from foreign countries; and, last summer, when I was working in New Jersey, my work lay amongst the Italians, as I speak Italian as well as I speak English, and I pass for an Italian whenever I am amongst them. And in that work I, the wife of an American citizen, had to go to the naturalized voters from Italy and appeal to them, not as an American citizen, but for the work that I have done amongst the Italian immigrants—for their gratitude as Italians. I could not appeal to them as American citizens. I had to appeal to their national pride in their native Italy. They did not even know there was a suffrage amendment to be voted upon until I told them so; yet they could refuse suffrage to me, the wife of an American citizen. And I tell you, gentlemen, that we women are as proud of citizenship and as anxious to do our duty as you men are; and there was no greater humiliation for me, when I,

a citizen and a voter in Australia, came here, than the fact that I had to descend as a citizen and take my place among American women between criminals and the insane.

We did not always have the voting privilege in Australia; it is only since women obtained the federal suffrage in 1902; and, being then still in Australia, I, who was, with the knowledge of the election officials, married to an American citizen, voted in the commonwealth elections of 1903, for we Australian women are the only ones in the world who do not lose our citizenship when we marry a foreigner; and it is this privilege that we should also like to obtain for the American women.

Mr. CARAWAY. Are you still a voter in Australia?

Mrs. HARDY. I am not, since I have come to America; but I was three years in Australia after I was married.

Mr. CARAWAY. If you do not lose your citizenship by reason of marriage, you still have it?

Mrs. HARDY. I still have it, until I should vote in the United States. Quite rightly, I could not vote in two countries, and I have been informed, by writing to a lawyer, that the fact of my voting in this country would be regarded as relinquishing all my rights of citizenship in Australia; but it would be a voluntary act on my part, not as a consequence of my marriage.

Mr. STEELE. You would have to be naturalized, would you not, Madam?

Mrs. HARDY. I am recognized as a citizen of the United States; but as Australia does not hold that a woman relinquishes her citizenship by marrying, I am in the peculiar position of having the right of citizenship in two countries.

Now, in the first suffrage campaign in Michigan, it is generally conceded that we won. Our enemies did not think we had the strength to win, and the returns were held up for two or three weeks after the other returns had been in, in order to defeat the suffrage vote. We demanded a recount in Bay County, and when we went to count the ballots they had been burned.

Mr. STEELE. You got it resubmitted to the people after that. What was the result?

Mrs. HARDY. The second time we were snowed under.

Mr. STEELE. How do you account for that?

Mrs. HARDY. I account for it by the fact that we were the only State in campaign, and the whole of the opposition in the United States was concentrated on Michigan. The liquor interests themselves admitted that they spent a million dollars in order to defeat us.

Mr. STEELE. Do you mean to say that you charge that the electorate of Michigan is so corrupt that you were defeated by corrupt means?

Mrs. HARDY. I do not; but I charge that every opposition vote was brought out against us. We had only \$8,000 to spend in our campaign.

Mr. STEELE. You think if you had had \$100,000 you could have carried it?

Mrs. HARDY. I think so. Miss Younger reminds me that at the time our election came up in Michigan there were tremendous floods all over the country and tens of thousands of voters absolutely could not reach the polls.

Mr. STEELE. You think it was only those who would have voted for suffrage that were cut off by the floods?

Mrs. HARDY. The country vote was for us and the large cities were against us. The city people could vote and the country people could not.

Mr. DUPRÉ. May I ask if you were professionally engaged in exploiting the suffrage propaganda?

Mrs. HARDY. May I ask what you mean?

Mr. DUPRÉ. Whether that was your business?

Mrs. HARDY. No; I have never been paid one cent in my life for any work I have done for suffrage. I paid my own expenses in Michigan while I was the legislative chairman.

Mr. DUPRÉ. I notice you have taken a great deal of interest in the movement. You were in Michigan, New Jersey, and other States, and in Europe.

Mrs. HARDY. My expenses were paid while I was in New Jersey, but my expenses did not cover my expenditure, I was out between \$50 and \$60 for the time I was there.

Mr. DUPRÉ. May I ask you native birthplace?

Mrs. HARDY. My native birthplace is Melbourne, Australia, and I am married to an American citizen, and live in the State of Michigan.

Mr. DUPRÉ. How long have you been in the United States?

Mrs. HARDY. Since 1904.

Mr. DUPRÉ. And during that time, wherever elections have been held, you have been advocating the suffrage movement?

Mrs. HARDY. Not wherever the elections were held. I have worked in Michigan during two campaigns, in Ohio, and in New Jersey, and I was seven months away on a trip to Austria-Hungary, and I worked there for the cause, as I happened to be there; but always paying my own expenses.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you state the majority of the vote cast against suffrage in Michigan at the last election?

Mrs. HARDY. I think it was 96,000.

The CHAIRMAN. At the first election there were only six or seven hundred against it?

Mrs. HARDY. Seven hundred and fifty six, I think—754 or 756; is that not so?

A VOICE. I think that is right.

Mr. DUPRÉ. How large a percentage of the voters voted?

Mrs. HARDY. You mean how many people voted?

Mr. DUPRÉ. In proportion to the number of voters, how many voted on that question?

Mrs. HARDY. It was the presidential election, the first election in Michigan, and not quite as many voted on the suffrage amendment as voted for the President.

Mr. DUPRÉ. Can you give me the proportion? Was it as many as one-half?

Mrs. HARDY. Oh, I think more than that; I think it was some thing like four-fifths, was it not?

A VOICE. Yes.

Mrs. HARDY. Something like four-fifths of those who voted for President, voted on the suffrage amendment, and a little less than one-fifth did not vote on the question at all.

Mr. STEELE. You met with the same result in Ohio, did you not?

Mrs. HARDY. The second time in Ohio we met with a flood.

Mr. STEELE. No, there was no flood there.

Mrs. HARDY. No; I did not mean that. I meant a flood of opposition. There was a prohibition campaign on.

Mr. STEELE. And the prohibition killed the suffrage?

Mrs. HARDY. Yes. You can not run a prohibition and a suffrage campaign together.

Mr. Moss. Regardless of how they voted in Ohio or Michigan or anywhere else—West Virginia has not yet voted on it—but regardless of that, however, and regardless of how the majority of the women view the question, if it is a right, what difference does all the other make?

Mrs. HARDY. If it is a right?

Mr. Moss. Yes.

Mrs. HARDY. We contend it is a right. Then, the quickest and most expeditious way is the only one to take.

Mr. Moss. Voting is a privilege, but if one set of citizens have that privilege, as I understand your position, it is converted into a right which should go to all the citizens?

Mrs. HARDY. That is what we contend.

Mr. Moss. And that right should be exercised by those who want to exercise it, just as the right to go into the public parks may be exercised by those who want to exercise it, regardless of whether everybody else wants to exercise it or not?

Mrs. HARDY. That is exactly what we contend. [Applause.]

Miss PAUL. May I introduce as our next speaker Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, of Delaware?

#### STATEMENT OF MRS. FLORENCE BAYARD HILLES.

Mrs. HILLES. Mr. Chairman, and gentlemen of the Judiciary Committee, to-day the watchword in this country is "America first," and we want to say to you that if America is to be first, the women of this country want to stand side by side with their men; and, further, I want to say to you that their reasons for feeling that they have the right to stand side by side with them is all a matter of history and law in this country. A fellow statesman of mine—I mean a gentleman from Delaware, who comes from the same State that I do, and a statesman of great reputation, of international reputation, the Hon. George Gray—said, in an address before the American Bar Association a few years ago, these few words, which I would like to read to you because they make perfectly plain the statement of the law and the rights of a citizen in this country. He said: "More and more we recognize in the light of advancing civilization that public opinion is the controlling force of the practical working of civil government. An enlightened public opinion is the only security to the permanence of our free institutions. Democracy has made justice our birthright. It has attained its full development and growth only through centuries of effort and struggle, and has often seemed to have gone down and perished in the long nights of tyranny and oppression.

"The men who framed our constitutions, both State and national, had a keen realization of the hatefulness of arbitrary power, and they took care that no place should be found for its exercise in the frame

of a government they were about to erect. The power which they had dislodged was about to be assumed by the people's self-governing States, governmental power to be wielded by sovereign majorities. To them, as I hope to us, arbitrary power was hateful wherever lodged. Instinct with the spirit of Magna Charta, they found no place for absolutism, even that of a majority, in the constitution or government they framed for themselves and their posterity. It was the substance of arbitrary power, not the mere agency of its exercise, which they hated; and so they put beyond the reach of the sovereign power of the people the essential liberties of the individual citizen. It was this deep-seated hatred of arbitrary and unrestrained power that was writ large in the very forefront of our Declaration of Independence. No other than this good old Saxon word 'hatred' so fittingly expresses the emotion deep-seated in the human heart, which is excited by attempt, wherever made, of one man or many to work his or their unrestrained will upon those who may be within their power. Is arbitrary power less hateful now than then to the people of this country? If not, let us remember that we can only preserve ourselves from its baneful sway by keeping alive in the breasts of men to-day the sentiments that animated their fathers and the hatred of tyranny and absolutism from whatever source it comes. Let us rejoice in the fact that by the law of the land the arbitrary will of no mere majority of all the people can deprive anyone of his right to liberty."

That is what the Hon. George Gray said, and that, gentlemen, I consider, covers the relation of the citizen in this country to his Government. Equal suffrage is development; it is the eternal forward march of the human race toward genuine democracy. The just government derives its reason for being a government, when it governs with the consent of the governed. An arbitrary system of government must always become corrupt, and in many forms of government we will always find some characteristic weaknesses, and in the government of a republic there can be a tyranny of a mere majority that is as relentless and is more dangerous to liberty itself than that of an unlimited monarchy.

Gentlemen of the Judiciary Committee, is there not a public conscience, outside and above a party caucus, to which we can confidently appeal in the name of those things which our forefathers had writ into the Constitution of these United States. The American conviction of faith is the doctrine of liberty and equality. The faithful American is the one who understands these doctrines and applies them in his or her life; and therefore it is that we appeal to you to make this matter a national issue; we appeal for your help, your consideration; because it is not only the women of the West who should enjoy the right of self-government; it is the women of all this country. To-day we are being told of the preparation of a Federal measure for preparedness. Who is to prepare? Men alone? No, gentlemen; they are calling on the women as well; and if the Government is to take part in that movement, and the people who are connected with the Government are to take part, surely you are not going to call on the women, and only give them half an opportunity, half of the real relation they ought to bear to such things; and, therefore, it is with that in mind that I make this appeal on behalf of the many women in this country, that you consider this matter from the point of view of national statesmen, and do not turn us down. We thank you.

Mr. STEELE. You are from Delaware?

Mrs. HILLES. Yes.

Mr. STEELE. Does not Delaware have local equal suffrage?

Mrs. HILLES. It has limited suffrage now. We have a school suffrage in Delaware. I think you are thinking of New Jersey, perhaps.

Mr. NELSON. You believe that the Congress should refer this matter to the States?

Miss PAUL. Yes; that is what we are asking.

Mr. NELSON. Dr. Shaw stated that there was some difficulty that you had to encounter in amending constitutions that made that work very difficult, if not practically impossible. I think she put it as strongly as that. The lady from Minnesota gave us a concrete instance. Have you other cases in mind where in going to the States it is very difficult on that account, if not impossible?

Miss PAUL. I was not here during Dr. Shaw's speech, but I presume she covered them all. It is difficult, yes; and that is the reason, of course, that we are taking this method.

Mr. NELSON. Are there other States?

Miss PAUL. Yes; in New Mexico.

Mr. NELSON. And Illinois, too?

Miss PAUL. Yes; there is New Mexico and Illinois, and so on; but we feel this is the most direct way to win enfranchisement and that is the reason we are asking Congress for favorable action.

Mr. NELSON. I am very much interested. I voted for your amendment. It is very important to have pointed out the States that make it so difficult that that route is impracticable.

Miss PAUL. Well, I think the State referendums proved that. We spent a great deal of money and a great deal of effort in four States, and lost in all of them.

Mr. NELSON. The practical difficulties that the lady mentioned in Minnesota, for instance, illustrated it.

Miss PAUL. Yes; but even though there were no practical difficulties in the way of provisions in the State constitution, it seems to be that it is obviously more difficult to try to convert a majority of the representatives in 37 State legislatures, and then aim at converting all the men in 37 States, than it is to try to get this amendment passed in Congress by a two-thirds vote of each House, and have it ratified by the legislatures of the 36 States.

Mr. NELSON. I wanted to have a few instances. The lady from Minnesota mentioned one. I think it is very important. One lady says New Hampshire can only amend once in 11 years.

Mr. TAGGART. In the efforts of your organization to defeat Democratic candidates—

Miss PAUL (interposing). We are not here to talk about the past; we are here to talk about the present and the future.

Mr. TAGGART. You have made a report as to the past, have you not?

Miss PAUL. No. We are here to ask this Judiciary Committee to report this bill to the House of Representatives for its consideration.

Mr. TAGGART. However, your organization spent a lot of time and money in its efforts to try to defeat men on the committee that you are now before.

Miss PAUL. We went out into the suffrage States and told the women voters what was being done to the suffrage amendment in the last Congress.

Mr. TAGGART. We have before us a joint resolution by Mr. Taylor, of Colorado. You tried to defeat him, did you not?

Miss PAUL. The suffrage amendment was not brought to a vote in the House until after we went out to the West.

Mr. TAGGART. You tried to defeat the man in the House who has this resolution which you are having hearings for, did you not?

Miss PAUL. What we did was to go to the Rules Committee, a Democratic committee, to ask that this measure be reported out and brought to a vote; when the committee had refused to do this we went out into the suffrage States of the West and told the women voters how the bill was being blocked at Washington. As soon as we did that, they stopped blocking, and the bill was brought up before the House for the first time in history.

Mr. TAGGART. That was after the election?

Miss PAUL. Yes.

Mr. TAGGART. You are aware that more Democrats voted for it than men of any other party.

Miss PAUL. We are aware that the Democrats met in caucus and decided that woman's suffrage should not be brought up in the House; and after we went out in the West, they brought it up. We went out to tell the women voters about the way some of their Representatives were treating the matter.

Mr. TAGGART. And with this result: That in the suffrage State of Colorado, Senator Thomas was reelected to succeed himself; in the suffrage State of Arizona, Senator Smith was reelected to succeed himself; in the suffrage State of California, a Democrat was elected to succeed a Republican; in the suffrage State of Washington, the House was reinforced by one Democrat, and in the suffrage State of Utah and in the suffrage State of Kansas Democrats were elected to reinforce the party. One Democrat only, Mr. Seldomridge, of Colorado, was defeated, for the reason that he says his district has been gerrymandered; nevertheless, he came and voted for the amendment on the floor of the House. In fact, I believe a large number of the men—Democrats—who voted for this on the floor of the House were men who had been defeated in nonsuffrage States. Why should you take such an interest in defeating Democratic Congressmen and Senators?

Miss PAUL. I shall be glad to discuss this if you wish, though I think, perhaps, we ought to talk about the present situation; but, as I said, this bill was reported out of the Judiciary Committee last spring, and before it could be brought to the floor it was necessary to have the time apportioned by the Rules Committee, which was a Democratic committee. We went day after day, almost every day from May, when the bill came out of the Judiciary Committee, until the close of Congress, asking them to bring this amendment before the House of Representatives for a vote. Every time we were told they could not take this action, because the Democratic caucus had resolved that suffrage should not be brought up in Congress. After pursuing this course of procedure for some months, we went out into every one of the nine States where women vote, and told the women voters what was happening in Congress and how we were blocked.

We went into the districts of 43 men who were running as candidates for Congress on the Democratic ticket. Of those 43 we campaigned against, only 19 came back to Washington.

Mr. DANFORTH. I want to ask whether or not this discussion, which has nothing to do with the merits of this hearing, will be taken out of the time of these ladies?

Mr. TAGGART. I will take this occasion to say, as a member of this committee, that if there were any partisan organization made up of men and devoted to any public measure who had lent themselves to the defeat of representatives of the minority of this committee, or had attempted to defeat the Republican members of this committee, that I would vote to exclude them from having a hearing before this committee for the reason that it would be an affront to the minority.

Miss PAUL. Do you mean you would not give a hearing to a Republican organization or a Socialist organization or a Prohibition organization?

Mr. TAGGART. I would not give any hearing to any partisan organization that had devoted itself to political purposes and who had taken similar action.

Miss PAUL. You do grant hearings to Republicans and to Socialists, and so on?

Mr. TAGGART. Not in their partisan capacity. [Exclamations of "Oh! Oh!"] Will you answer this question: You did not defeat a single Democratic Member of Congress in any suffrage State, did you; except Mr. Seldomridge?"

Miss PAUL. Why are they so wrought up over it, then?

Mr. TAGGART. They are not wrought up over it. You can not bring any message to the benighted women of Kansas from Baltimore.

Miss PAUL. We went into 43 districts, and campaigned against 43 candidates, and only 19 of them came back.

Mr. TAGGART. Where did you go? You went to New York, did you not? The 19 was 2 more than we had before.

Miss PAUL. No.

Mr. TAGGART. Where did you go? Ohio?

Miss PAUL. We went only into the States where women vote, and out of 43 against whom we campaigned only 19 came back.

Mr. TAGGART. Every man but Mr. Seldomridge came back to Washington—all who were here before—and two new ones.

Miss PAUL. No.

Mr. TAGGART. Whom did you defeat who belonged in the House before that time?

Miss PAUL. It is usually conceded that we may have had something to do with the defeat of Mr. Neeley, of your own State.

Mr. TAGGART. Did you campaign against Mr. Neeley, of Kansas?

Miss PAUL. We most certainly did.

Mr. TAGGART. He was not in the Senate when you did?

Miss PAUL. He was in the House.

Mr. TAGGART. He was in the House and ran for the Senate?

Miss PAUL. Yes.

Mr. TAGGART. And was defeated?

Miss PAUL. Yes.

Mr. TAGGART. He voted for suffrage after you defeated him, too, did he not?



Miss PAUL. May I bring out this——

Mr. TAGGART. I say, he voted for suffrage after you defeated him, did he not?

Miss PAUL. Every man we campaigned against voted for suffrage. He was working against suffrage before that, but after we campaigned against him he worked for suffrage. [Applause.]

Mr. TAGGART. Do you think you had anything to do with it?

Miss PAUL. Ask Mr. Neeley.

Mr. TAGGART. You increased the majority of nearly every Democrat who was reelected in a suffrage State.

The CHAIRMAN. I will say to the committee that there is a roll call, and I suggest that the committee take a recess for one hour, during which time we can answer the roll call and get lunch, and then this discussion may be continued.

Mr. VOLSTEAD. Will the time devoted to these questions be taken out of the time allowed these ladies?

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, no.

(Whereupon, at 12.55 o'clock p. m., a recess was taken for one hour.)

#### AFTER RECESS.

The hearing was resumed at the expiration of the recess.

The CHAIRMAN. We will resume, Miss Paul. Mr. Williams, a member of the committee, desires to ask a question.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Miss Paul, can you tell me the names of the candidates whom your organization opposed for reelection in the State of Illinois in the fall of 1914—the last election?

Miss PAUL. Mr. Williams, we conducted our campaign only in the nine States in which women were able to vote for Members of Congress. Of course, they are not permitted to vote for Members of Congress in Illinois.

Mr. WILLIAMS. And in that State you did not participate in the campaign?

Miss PAUL. No; in no way.

I desire now to introduce Miss Helen Todd, of California.

#### STATEMENT OF MISS HELEN TODD OF CALIFORNIA.

Miss TODD. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the Judiciary Committee, I wish to take only a few minutes to present the point of view of women in the West. We have had a comparatively easy time, gentlemen, securing suffrage; but we could not, I believe, have secured suffrage in California if we had had the old Southern Pacific machine against us—if we had had to come up against the kind of political machine that the women in New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts have had to come up against. In the West we can not understand a community of civilized people cheerfully allowing their women to beat up against a machine such as exists in many States. It is impossible even for the men of the community to get justice, and it is impossible for disfranchised women to get justice.

Mr. GRAHAM. What machine did they beat up against in Pennsylvania?

Miss TODD. The Penrose machine. You have heard of that, no doubt?

Mr. GRAHAM. I was not aware of it in Pennsylvania.

Miss TODD. That is what I understand, that the political machines in the States are generally against woman suffrage, because they, perfectly naturally, do not want to have a large influx of new voters who are not under their effective control—

Mr. GRAHAM. You are seeking to give this committee information. Therefore you ought to be very careful to ascertain the source of that information and know that it is true, because we want only the truth. And I will say to you, from my knowledge of Pennsylvania—my birthplace and my residence all my life—that your information concerning that State is not correct.

Miss TODD. Then I am very happy to understand that the Penrose machine is with the ladies. [Laughter.]

Mr. GRAHAM. No, that does not follow. That is what they charge against you ladies, that you are illogical. That is not a logical sequence. They may be neither for it nor against it, but they have allowed those who are in favor of it to have very full swing in endeavoring to carry it. That is what I understand was the situation. I think Senator Penrose himself is favorable; I have heard him say so.

Miss TODD. I have heard, too, that if Mr. Penrose wanted anything in Pennsylvania it was not defeated by hundreds of thousands. But I may be mistaken.

We came in after the day of the old Southern Pacific machine that had controlled California, on a progressive wave—a wave of revolt against the old machine. And with that came the feeling that the West wanted women to help to keep California from going back into the old way and to have it a government of men and women; not a government by any one machine, but a government by the people.

We, in the West, have always had a great feeling for the East and a great belief that the eastern women could perhaps secure this privilege of citizenship. We have found out that in the East the machinery against them, the intrenched interests that oppose woman suffrage, are much more deeply intrenched than in the West, and so we feel that while we are very much interested in the State-by-State campaign, the road over which the negro and the Indians have gone to better things, is a road that we can take along with them; that the women can come in, even if they come in back of the colored man and the Indian, through an amendment to the Federal Constitution.

We have tried to work out the State-by-State campaigns. I was in a delegation of clubwomen that appealed to President Wilson and he suggested that we win suffrage State by State; but at the last meeting we had, I think President Wilson was very much more favorable to the Federal amendment than before. After that I went down to Texas and entered the State contest, after you gentlemen here—the Democrats who have the power in the House—defeated the Federal amendment because you believed in State rights. And your Texas Legislature, in which there was only one Republican, defeated the State bill and would not allow it to go before the citizens of the State. In that Democratic legislature we could not get it

before the people, and here in Congress you Democrats say it must be brought to the people.

So we have believed that the best contribution that the West can make to the East is to make suffrage a national issue and put the cause of women above all national political parties. We are very devoted to our political parties. We wish to keep the feeling that we have for our political parties, and it is a great sacrifice. It is a sacrifice for principle. It involves a risk of misunderstanding. It is a kind of campaign that we know little about, as we have never attempted it before; but numbers of western women, and increasing numbers of them, I think, will hold the party responsible. Not the Democratic party or the Republican party, but the party in power here; for we know that the party that is in power—the Democratic, as it happens now—has the power in your caucuses, in your committees, to control this Federal legislation to a large extent.

The CHAIRMAN. Miss Todd, you are aware that this Judiciary Committee as constituted by the Democratic Party, is the only committee that ever gave you a vote on the floor of the House, and that more Democrats voted for it than Republicans, and that your organization fought every Democrat in the last election?

Miss TODD. Yes, sir. And in 1916 we confidently believe that we will have a favorable vote on this Susan B. Anthony amendment, and when that is done we will campaign for the Democratic Party with the greatest enthusiasm that was ever heard.

Mr. GARD. May I ask, are you all a unit on that subject just as you have stated it?

Miss TODD. We are not a unit, because it is only recently that we have begun to realize that we have this power.

Mr. GARD. You have said, "Vote for this amendment, and we will vote for the Democratic Party." You are speaking for your whole organization when you say that, are you?

Miss TODD. I am speaking for the temperament that I know exists in the West. Our winning of the suffrage was like a religious revival. It was the feeling that woman, as the creator of human life should have the power and the privilege to protect the life that she creates.

Mr. GARD. If you will pardon me, that is not an answer to my question. I ask if your allied woman-suffrage movement, which you represent—

Miss TODD. I am not a delegate. I have been a delegate 10 or 15 times to the national organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Miss Todd, you are from California. I notice before the committee this morning the first resolution we have, resolution No. 1, introduced by Mr. Raker. This committee knows that Mr. Raker has been a very ardent woman suffragist. Now, we are informed that your organization, the Congressional Union, very bitterly fought him for reelection the last time. Is that so? And if so, why did you do it? That is just one of a number of cases.

Miss TODD. I will have to say that I am very new in this Congressional Union; I am a western woman. I understand that the Congressional Union is new. I know nothing of the campaign against Mr. Raker; I had no part in it. But eastern women came out West last year and told us of their tremendous struggle. We saw these women trampled under foot in Pennsylvania, while men were dragging that Liberty Bell around and our governors receiving it; and

they would not give that liberty to the women of their own State. That is a disgrace. We never want to see that bell again; they can keep it in Pennsylvania. [Laughter and applause.] The idea——

Mr. WILLIAMS. Miss Todd, may I ask a question? I infer from your remarks, though you do not state it specifically, that you will give the Democrats credit if this resolution is adopted and the proposition goes to the States. I also infer that if it is not, you will attach the whole blame to the Democratic Party. You realize, do you, that the Democrats, unfortunately, have not the two-thirds majority in both branches that is necessary?

Mr. VOLSTEAD. The Republicans will furnish the additional votes.

Miss TODD. As I say, if I may just repeat, the thing that has brought us new women into it is the appeal that was made to the 500 delegates from the suffrage States to put justice to women above all other considerations. So we got into this fight in a very new way without knowledge of its history, but with the determination to throw our weight in 1916 to that party that stands for justice to women.

Mr. WILLIAMS. But, Miss Todd, the Democrats have only about 22 or 23 majority in the House, not a two-thirds majority in the Senate, and could not as a party give you this relief, although they furnished a majority of the votes cast for it when they voted on it in the House. Why do you say you will give us the whole credit or the whole blame?

Miss TODD. I think that if the Democratic Party would stand for this Federal amendment, you gentlemen could have this come up upon the floor for a vote, as the Republicans can do nothing in this committee——

The CHAIRMAN. Pardon me, Miss Todd; they are a great force on this committee.

Miss TODD. I beg your pardon.

Mr. GRAHAM. They are a great moral and intellectual force.

Miss TODD. What I mean is, if this is to come up on the floor of the House, it depends upon you Democrats. I think if you could get together with the Republicans, whom we hold just as responsible personally, if you will put your force back of your efforts, as I think we have reason to believe President Wilson is considering seriously, we will be able to pass this amendment. At any rate, we will not hold you responsible for things you can not do.

Mr. MOSS. Did not President Wilson say specifically and very emphatically that it was a State question, and that he did not favor this national amendment? You say lately he has changed his mind?

Miss TODD. Why, that is the wonderful part of it. The Eastern women gave up calling on him. They did not want to come any more. So many people criticised so much. And when we came, we women voters, he said nothing about State's rights; that he was perfectly capable of changing his mind; that his mind was able to accept new angles of things; that this was very interesting and that he would give it his most careful consideration.

Mr. STEELE. As I understand it, then you have been trying molasses long enough, and you are using a club now once in a while. Is that it?

Miss TODD. You must know, gentlemen, that the first thing a great many people think of with regard to any movement is, What is it going to mean to me, to my party? Can they punish? Can they reward? If we have got this great number of votes, and these women are trampled upon in the East, why shouldn't we use our votes for justice to women? Why shouldn't we put that first! What right has a party to come to us—

The CHAIRMAN. If that is your position, why do you not follow the method of the national association and support Members of Congress who are for woman suffrage regardless of their politics, whether they be Republicans or Democrats—support your friends and oppose your opponents?

Miss TODD. As I say, we are all new to it, but we certainly have come—we are going right at it, to organize—and I believe we have more punch when we hold the party responsible.

Mr. GARD. May I ask, Miss Todd, why you left the National Suffrage Association?

Miss TODD. I have not left it. I am very fond of them. I am devoted to them. Many of my best friends are in it. Do not understand that because we western women are giving up party and everything else to get into this movement that we are leaving the National.

Mr. CARAWAY. You say the western women are united in this demand that women be recognized everywhere. Why is it, then, that so many women in your own State do not vote with you and your party?

Miss TODD. Which party do you mean?

Mr. CARAWAY. Well, with the organization you represented when you went out to defeat candidates?

Miss TODD. I did not do that. I know nothing of that.

Mr. CARAWAY. I am talking about the organization; not you individually.

Miss TODD. I am afraid you will have to ask Miss Paul that.

Mr. CARAWAY. Why is it that you come here to talk for an organization and yet when a question is asked regarding the policy of that organization you have to refer to your leader?

Miss TODD. I believe in the policy.

Mr. CARAWAY. Did you pursue it?

Miss TODD. I do not know the details of the activities of the organization, because the western women have recently joined it—

Mr. CARAWAY. Miss Paul is not a western woman, and we could hardly expect her to know more about it than you do.

Miss TODD. I do not know the details of the campaigns against the Democrats.

Mr. CARAWAY. Oh, I am not asking about the campaigns against the Democrats; I am asking why you still do not stand together if you all agree upon that policy?

Miss TODD. We have never had a general call—

Mr. CARAWAY. You speak for a minority, do you not, of the women of California?

Miss TODD. We have never had a general call. It was not until this convention that we got roused up and sent our delegates on here—the convention held within the last six months.

Mr. CARAWAY. How many people were present at that convention!

Miss TODD. Five hundred delegates.

Mr. CARAWAY. Do you think that 500 delegates can speak for the women of California?

Miss TODD. Five hundred delegates—I think they have an immense force. We are an inflammable people, easily aroused, in the West—

Mr. CARAWAY. You did not get inflamed on the same side of this question this last year?

Miss TODD. We have not been aroused—

Mr. CARAWAY. Until just now?

Miss TODD. Until just now. I think I have made my point clear. Eastern women came out and asked for our support. Woman suffrage is a question that is dear to our hearts. A great many women have put suffrage beyond everything else—

Mr. WHALEY. May I ask, are you an officer of the Congressional Union?

Miss TODD. No; I am just a member.

Mr. WHALEY. You received no compensation for your activities?

Miss TODD. None at all.

Miss PAUL. Our next speaker is Miss Frances Jolliffe, who is a strong Democrat, who campaigned for President Wilson and for Senator Phelan, and who is one of the envoys sent by the women's convention at the last meeting, at which there were present 10,000 people who bade her "God speed" on this journey.

#### STATEMENT OF MISS FRANCES JOLLIFFE, OF CALIFORNIA.

Miss JOLLIFFE. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I am here as a messenger from the women voters of the West. Perhaps first I should offer my apologies to the minority for appearing at all; for, gentlemen, I did my level best to defeat your candidate for the Senate last year. And I think I did a good deal to defeat him, when I went before the women and told them they could not send back—

Mr. VOLSTEAD. Will you pardon me an interruption? Was that the pay you gave the Republicans for giving you almost as many votes in the House as the Democrats gave you? And that despite the fact that the Democrats had a two-thirds majority in the House? The vote was 86 Democrats in favor and 171 Democrats against, 75 Republicans and 16 Progressives in favor and 33 against. That is, less than one-half of the vote in favor of your proposition came from the Democrats, and more than five out of every six who voted against it were Democrats.

Miss JOLLIFFE. Just a moment. We went in to help defeat this man, and we know we did a whole lot, because we expected him to run second and he only ran third. And the plea which I sent to the women, and to which we got a response, was that he had insulted our president, and we could not further insult our president by sending him back to the Senate. I want to tell this not because we are threatening the Republican Party, for we are nonpartisan—

Mr. TAGGART. How did you come to work at cross purposes in California?

Miss JOLLIFFE. This is the way. Representatives of the Congressional Union came to California and asked us to work against Mr. Phelan. I said, "No; I do not think the Democrats have had a

fair chance, and I want to give them one more chance." [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. TAGGART. But they were voting while he was waiting. The battle was over when he got here.

Miss JOLLIFFE. The battle was over. And you ask why they attacked Mr. Raker. I may be wrong about this. If I am, will Miss Paul please tell me? Mr. Raker was——

Mr. MOSS. I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that the lady be permitted to make her statement without interruption. She is entitled to finish her sentence.

Miss JOLLIFFE. I do not want to make a speech.

The CHAIRMAN. Please proceed and make your statement about Mr. Raker.

Miss JOLLIFFE. I understand. I want to get this before you gentlemen, and if I am not right I wish Miss Paul would please correct me. I want you to understand what the policy of the Union was, and why they attacked Mr. Raker.

When your party went into caucus against our amendment, Mr. Raker stood in with his party. When your party went into caucus about the tariff, members of your party who came from certain sections of the country, as the beet-sugar districts, withdrew from the caucus out of loyalty to their sections. You consider them no less Democrats that they withdrew, but there was not any Democrat who took any action of protest for us. Now, I understand that is why the ladies of the Congressional Union did not think that Mr. Raker had served them well. Was that right?

Miss PAUL. You are making the speech.

Miss JOLLIFFE. I am here as a delegate. The first woman voters' convention met in San Francisco last September. Delegates came from the 12 States which represent 4,000,000 women voters, and these delegates came from organizations of club women, of working women, of professional women, and women of leisure; and they represented all kinds of political belief.

Then in conference, after due deliberation, the Susan B. Anthony amendment was unanimously indorsed, and it was unanimously resolved that the women voters of America represented there in conference should make woman's enfranchisement the paramount issue of the day, to place woman's enfranchisement above party or partisanship, and to stand shoulder to shoulder until all women were free.

Now, gentlemen, there is a historical significance there, for that is the first time in history that you see the solidarity of women. And now you gentlemen want to know why I was there—a Democrat—and it may explain why other women have taken this position. There was a child-labor convention at home a little while ago and they came to me to aid them. I had seen in Lawrence with my own eyes and around the eastern factories what it meant to the Nation to bring these little children up that way. I had seen, and it impressed me as the greatest problem and the most crying need of our country. I deliberated, and I thought, "What can I do for these children?" And I said, "I can use my vote." But, gentlemen, where there is woman suffrage there is no child labor; and when they tell you that the women of the South are against suffrage, that is only something they are trying to put over on us. When they tell you that there is the negro question or the question of States' rights, that is only some-

thing they are trying to put over on us. Gentlemen, it is the owners of the interests of the South, the factory owners, who fatten on child labor; and the only way we can get at those factory owners in the East or the South is through woman's vote, and you know that. The only way we women can do anything to help you, to help ourselves, to help a million women who are in the street to-day is first through our votes.

Now, gentlemen of the Democratic Party, do not blame me if I seem disloyal, because with some of your great principles I am in sincerest sympathy. Do not blame me if I put woman above all, if I have heard the cry of the children in the land of the free, if I have heard the cry of the working woman, the factory girl, and the sweatshop worker. "Give us freedom," they ask you, so that at least women may meet the struggle for existence on even terms.

Gentlemen, this is a bigger question to me and to you than party; it is a question of conscience, of justice. There is only one way we can do it. You know we can not do it through the States. We can not touch those factory States. We can not touch Massachusetts and the South where they employ child labor. The only way we can get it is through a Federal amendment. You know that. That is why we are here, and your answer is what we are waiting for out West. I thank you. [Applause].

Miss PAUL. May I introduce our other envoy, Mrs. Sara Bard Field, of California.

#### STATEMENT OF MRS. SARA BARD FIELD, OF CALIFORNIA.

Mrs. FIELD. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, may I make a request, and that is if you have questions to ask me—and I hope you have a lot, most of which I shall try to answer—you will first let me tell you what I have to tell you, because I am somewhat in the position of a messenger with a special message to bring you.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you say you were from?

Mrs. FIELD. Formerly of Portland, Oreg., but I have recently moved to San Francisco. My voting residence was in Portland, Oreg.

I think, with all due modesty, that possibly I know more than some of the other speakers about this movement on the part of western women to stand behind this amendment irrespective of party, because I have not only attended all the sessions of the women voters' convention, was not only very much interested in the education of the women in the West in reference to this movement, but made a long automobile trip of over 10 weeks across the country, taking in every large center between San Francisco and New York, and then back here, touching very intimately the sentiment of women with regard to this question in both the enfranchised States and the disfranchised States. It is the sentiment in the enfranchised States, I think, that you are all anxious to know about, and that I shall try to speak of. Later if you wish to hold me down to the details, I shall try to tell them.

We left this convention in San Francisco, which occurred in September, under most remarkable auspices. I have clippings from the newspapers in which they say that never had San Francisco been so rocked by the spirit of any movement as it had been by the spirit



of the movement in which this woman voters' convention was born and in which all the sessions continued.

The last night something like 10,000 people came to the Court of Abundance, where the closing session was held; and Miss Margaret Anglin, the famous actress, who had cut short her performance for that purpose, put into my hands the resolution and such portions of the petition as we had. She said to me then—and I tell it to you now merely that you may get the spirit of the movement, because I think you are not only interested in the facts but in the spirit in which the movement is conceived—"This is the last night of the first political convention of women ever held. We put into your hands this petition to Congress, and these resolutions passed by the convention. This is not mere paper we put into your hands; these are not mere words; this is the heart and the hope and the determined desire of western women for their unenfranchised sisters." And with these words, and with the throng following us to the gates, we started.

Now, I agree with the gentleman who suggested that 500 women delegates and the throng of 10,000 people, who might have been collected partly from curiosity and partly from a love of beauty, with which we were surrounded, were not necessarily representative of the sentiment in the West. So much did I agree with that view that I had serious doubts when I started out as an envoy to the Congress and the President as to whether I, with a certain Quaker heritage of honesty, had a right to say it was. I could say that this number of women had done it, but that that was a representative body I questioned.

But, gentlemen, the thing I feel, and my particular contribution to the information of this body, is that those doubts have been removed in my own mind. I ask you quite simply, why should three small women, traveling in an automobile—a common thing—with a certainly unsensational message of the loyalty and cooperation of women, have aroused in every single city they visited a demonstration which the residents of that city have said was unprecedented? I account for it only by the spirit of the movement, a spirit which we have never found in the ranks before, this new hope of women, that they have at last got a chance to bring this movement to a successful termination—the chance to show that they can stand together.

I am only going to pause here and there to give you glimpses of our journey. I will tell you first about Denver. In Denver we had a very remarkable demonstration. Hundreds of women who later signified their interest in this movement gathered with throngs of the populace—whom we could not necessarily count in the movement—on the steps of the Denver capitol. And I think it is illustrative of the spirit of the movement what Mrs. Bertha Fowler did that day. She stood among all the women on those capitol steps, and she said, "I have been a party voter, according to my conscience, ever since Colorado let me vote at all. But I want to say here to-day, in the presence of my governor and the mayor of this city, that I no longer know any party until women are free." And all around me the women said, "That is our stand, too." And we gathered, several hundred of us, in Mrs. Cuthbert's home afterwards, and the women took it upon themselves almost as a solemn vow.

Later we went to see Speaker Champ Clark, and talked over the Federal amendment with him. We did not make very much impression on him until Mrs. Buell, the State factory inspector, said this: "Speaker Clark, I have been a Democratic woman ever since I could vote at all, and I will tell you why. We women are a sort of believing lot; we accept things that are told us, perhaps, in the simplicity of a child. You used to come in here and you held the lamp of Democratic idealism high before us, and made us believe that the Democratic Party was not the party of special privilege, but the party of the people; and we believed you. And then, when we helped to put you in power, and you were the majority in House and Senate, we looked to see you carry out that idea, and make voting not a matter of special privilege to men only but for all the people." And she said, "Mr. Speaker, you people did not do it. You were the party in power; if you had used your influence, if you had got together as you men know how to get together, you could have pushed it through. You did not do it, Mr. Speaker."

And let me tell you what the Speaker said. He said, "Mrs. Buell, I am not saying that I will vote for the amendment, but I won't say I won't."

We feel that the spirit of those women, while they are only individuals, is indicative of the spirit of the movement and that behind them there is a great following. There is a vast nucleus of women who want the suffrage granted in all the States and are standing for that issue.

So we came to Chicago, and Chicago marks perhaps the finest illustration of the nonpartisan aspect of this movement. The Republican Women's Club indorsed it and did everything to make the day one to be remembered in the annals of Chicago's suffrage history. The Democratic Woman's League put through a resolution indorsing it. The Political Equality League, which is wholly nonpartisan, gave us an hour, and while Prof. Zueblin was speaking, all the women of that body—and there were nearly a thousand in attendance on that day—came up and signed the demand on Congress that the resolution be passed.

We do feel, gentlemen, that these things show that the women are interested. Mr. Taggart spoke of the benighted women of Kansas, and I venture to disagree with him. We had a very interesting experience showing that they were not.

MR. TAGGART. May I make a suggestion? You had two messengers come 1,400 miles to bring light to them, and I imagine they must have taken it for granted they were seriously in need of it when you had come so far. My remark referred to your evident estimate of the women of Kansas.

Mrs. FIELDS. You mean our envoys?

MR. TAGGART. No; I am talking about the political campaign that was conducted a year ago in which light was brought from the oyster city of Baltimore to Kansas. [Laughter.] Assuming that Kansas was benighted—

Mrs. FIELDS. Mr. William Allen White has evidence that they are not.

MR. TAGGART. Perhaps they felt that Baltimore could not very consistently instruct them.

Mrs. FIELDS. I see your point, and I would just like to tell you this, that while it is true that Kansas City, Kans., did not support this movement very well, on the other hand look at what Topeka did. We were due at Topeka at a certain time and our automobile broke down; we had tire trouble, and we were misdirected. And yet we were met with a vast throng of women who sent us a great stack of correspondence, in which they had got every official in your State, from the governor to the State printer, to indorse this movement and say it was a splendid thing and that they stood for the Federal amendment.

So we feel we have got a very considerable number of women in every State. We do not venture to say we have 4,000,000 women, but we do know we have made such a start under such favorable circumstances, with such a religious fervor back of it—

Mr. TAGGART. Permit me another question. When we come seriously to the question of speaking on this to the House, have you any canvass of the House whereby you might be able to judge how the resolution would fare at the hands of the House at this time?

Mrs. FIELDS. No; I have not.

Mr. TAGGART. It received a great many Democratic votes, notably from New York, and since that time, as a Member has suggested here, the State of New York brought a majority of something like 200,000—110,000 of which was up-State and not in the city, to the astonishment of everybody—the city being more favorable to it than the other part of the State. And those Democrats that voted for it were largely defeated, perhaps through the influence of organizations similar to your own that went out and helped to defeat them. Suppose it were sent over to the House—and I will vote to send it there—you will have no trouble with me. [Applause.] You may defeat me for doing it, but I will do it just the same.

Mrs. FIELD. Will you do it in the spirit of heaping coals of fire on my head, or in a Christian spirit of justice?

Mr. TAGGART. I never was much of a coal passer. [Laughter.] I voted to send it over the other time, and I voted for it after it got there, and that is the reason I happen to know that somehow or other I was singled out as a conspicuous and particular object of attack by your organization.

Mrs. FIELD. That is a great compliment, sir. We know your power. [Laughter.]

Mr. TAGGART. I am quite as capable of appreciation as you are of gratitude.

Mrs. FIELD. That is true, but you are evading this fact, that we were making that campaign on the policy of making the party responsible. I can not consider that a few people—

Mr. TAGGART. Wait until I show you the fallacy of doing that. Seventeen Democrats went out of here to get reelected from Suffrage States, nineteen came back. There were two more Democrats came back than left here to get elected. All the Senators that went out for reelection came back, and also Mr. Phelan, of California—and I wish to congratulate the lady that had the very good judgment to support him.

Mr. VOLSTEAD. Don't you think it would be a good thing to have that opposition continued?

Mrs. FIELD. Then what are you angry about?

Mr. TAGGART. I am not angry about anything, except that I can not conceive why you should ill treat people who are already for woman suffrage and set out to beat people in suffrage States, when the whole membership from those States were for woman suffrage, Democrats, Republicans, and everybody else. And you seem to be doing that for partisan motives and partisan reasons. My opponent, if he had been elected, would certainly have voted for woman suffrage, but you never had a chance to talk about it until the Democrats got in power.

Mrs. FIELD. This is a question of policy. One of your own Senators admitted the other day that we were perfectly logical.

When President Wilson was about to go in to the last presidential campaign the call came out to the West, "Support President Wilson by a majority in House and Senate." It is found to be futile to put a man in and have him balked by having no backing. So we tried to back up President Wilson. Does it not follow that if we do that thing, if we put a party in power, they are responsible both for the legislation enacted and for the legislation they fail to enact? You are responsible as a member of that party—

Mr. TAGGART. Just let me call your attention to this. Roosevelt with a suffrage platform carried only one suffrage State—California. Are you satisfied to have this committee treat this resolution precisely as the Republicans treated it for 43 years?

Mrs. FIELD. No: we are not satisfied.

Mr. TAGGART. You want us to be a great improvement on the people you tried to elect?

Mrs. FIELD. We want you while you are the party in power to be responsible for your actions—

Mr. TAGGART. You are asking us to be an improvement on the people that went before us.

Mrs. FIELD. The Republicans: yes, sir; we do. I will tell you why we do—

Mr. DUPRÉ. I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that we come to order and proceed with the hearing.

Mr. GARD. I suggest that the lady be permitted to conclude.

Mr. GRAHAM. I suggest that a good deal of discussion has been provoked by the discursiveness of the speeches. There are only two questions. One is the right of women to the vote, and the other is, Is this the proper method by which to submit it to the people, and ought it to be submitted as a national question?

Mrs. FIELD. May I conclude then?

The CHAIRMAN. The chairman does not feel at liberty to halt any member of this committee in asking a question.

Mrs. FIELD. I would like to say this to the judge. I have contributed this story to-day, which you have turned off into argumentation, in just that light because I wanted to show you that it is a big national issue. One of your arguments has been that you could not consider it because it is not a national issue. I am trying to show you that it is. When a great movement has got 4,000,000 women back of a demand, it is a national issue. That is why I contributed this story, thinking this committee would be interested in such information.

I am sorry you speak of the discursiveness. I do not think we have called it forth. We were proceeding to give you our message.

This is the truth, gentlemen; this is not a party attack; it is an impartial policy. You say we are not logical. It is you who are not logical. We keep telling you that, and you keep coming back to the question of the individual. If the Republicans were in power and had opposed suffrage as the Democrats did, we should have had to oppose the Republicans. If the Socialists or the Prohibitionists or any other party had been in power, the situation would have been the same. We are absolutely nonpartisan, holding only the party to responsibility for what it has done.

This movement of Western women has nothing of antagonism in it, but only what I know that every one of you must respect. It is a movement of deep loyalty, entailing much sacrifice for some people like myself who do not like to work on party lines.

THE CHAIRMAN. How many women voters belong to the Congressional Union?

Mrs. FIELD. I can not tell you. I am only a lay member; I am not an officer.

THE CHAIRMAN. Can you say with safety what Miss Todd has said, that if the Democrats of this committee vote to submit this proposition to the House and the House votes on it, whether or not it is adopted, you and your entire organization would support the Democratic candidates in the next election?

Mrs. FIELD. Did you say if you failed to put it through?

THE CHAIRMAN. I suppose you understand that the Democrats have only 24 majority. If we do our best——

Mr. VOLSTEAD. Mr. Chairman, I object. This is no place to make this kind of contract.

Mrs. FIELD. If you give us all your votes, you are going to get a return of gratitude, the kind of gratitude that women know how to give.

Mr. GARD. I desire to ask a question, on which I would like information either from you or some one connected with your organization. What reason can you give this committee for asking Congress to instruct States which have already voted on this question either affirmatively or negatively—why Congress should ask them to vote again?

Mrs. FIELD. I do not know. I think Miss Paul had better answer that. I could not tell you that.

Mr. GARD. If you prefer that some other person should answer it, very well.

Mr. CARAWAY. If this is a western movement, I should think you would be better able to answer than Miss Paul.

Mrs. FIELD. I generally get her permission, sir. I am a newcomer in the Congressional Union.

Mr. CARAWAY. Almost every question has been answered "We will have to ask Miss Paul." I just thought it was a western woman's movement.

Mrs. FIELD. That is very true. I thought when you asked a question concerning the policy of the movement you would prefer to have it come from an officer. I would be glad to answer that if you would like me to do so.

I think the reason we are asking Congress to submit this to the States is twofold. We believe that the legislatures of the States are not subject to the corrupt influences which creep in when a vote is

submitted to the people at large, and we believe that it should not be necessary constantly to convert this rapid influx of foreign population which is being poured into the States. And we believe, gentlemen, that the legislatures of the various States represent the enlightened public opinion of their various States far more than the great population which is constantly, as I say, being filled up with immigrants from Europe who do not understand even the first principles upon which our Government is founded.

Mr. CARAWAY. Is it not true that you have a very much larger foreign population in your suffrage States than in States where suffrage has not been granted?

Mrs. FIELD. I do not think we have.

Mr. CARAWAY. Do you think the Western States have not a larger percentage of foreign-born population?

Miss TODD. No; take Arizona, for instance.

Mr. CARAWAY. Arizona has only about a quarter of a million population—

Mrs. FIELD. I know that in Oregon and California it is not so.

Mr. CARAWAY. Have you ever examined your census report to ascertain? For instance, North Carolina and South Carolina have been attacked here to-day. Do you know what the percentage of foreign-born people in those two States is?

Mrs. FIELD. No; I do not know.

Mr. CARAWAY. Do you know that Louisiana has the least of any State in the Union?

Mrs. FIELD. No; I did not know that, but I do not see how that relates to this question.

Mr. CARAWAY. You said that the foreign-born people were the ones that defeated your resolution.

Mrs. FIELD. I said the constant influx of foreign-born people. I can not give you those figures, but I know the statistics show that the foreign population—

Mr. CARAWAY. What is the foreign population in Oregon or California, either one?

Mrs. FIELD. I can not answer you that.

Mr. CARAWAY. What is it in California?

Mrs. FIELD. I am sorry I am not up on those statistics. But you realize, don't you, that in California a great percentage of our foreign population is Asiatic.

Mr. VOLSTEAD. That is comparatively small.

The CHAIRMAN. Mrs. Field, do you mean to leave the impression that you think, as the representative of your organization, that all the voters are more easily corrupted and more liable to be corrupted than the legislature that represents those people?

Mrs. FIELD. Yes; I do, sir. From my own experience I do.

The CHAIRMAN. You think it is easier to corrupt all the people in California than the legislature?

Mrs. FIELD. I think, sir, it is not a question of corruption; it is a question of taking advantage of ignorance, and that is done again and again.

The CHAIRMAN. You would be opposed to the election of United States Senators by the people, as you elected Senator Phelan and others out there? [Laughter.]

Mrs. FIELD. No; I would be opposed to that. No, I would not; as a principle of democracy, I believe in that.

Mr. WHALEY. Mrs. Field, how long did you take on that trip across the continent?

Mrs. FIELD. Ten weeks, even paying part of my expenses.

Mr. WHALEY. The other part was paid by the order?

Mrs. FIELD. By the Congressional Union.

Mr. WHALEY. Are you an officer of the Congressional Union?

Mrs. FIELD. No; but a believer in its policy and its methods.

Mr. WHALEY. Do you know how its funds are raised?

Mrs. FIELD. I know exactly. They are raised wholly and entirely by voluntary contributions, such as came in last Sunday at the Belasco Theater, when we raised \$45,000 right from the floor, individuals pledging various sums in the names of their children, their sisters—even their husbands. [Laughter.]

Mr. WHALEY. Let us go a step further. How do you spend that money?

Mrs. FIELD. We spent it for organizers in the States, just as the national does. We spend it very often on just such means of publicity as are needed—

Mr. WHALEY. Literature and that sort of thing?

Mrs. FIELD. Yes.

Mr. WHALEY. Have you any paid workers at all?

Mrs. FIELD. Organizers, certainly.

Mr. WHALEY. Have you any paid workers here in Washington?

Mrs. FIELD. That we keep right here in Washington?

Mr. WHALEY. Yes; electioneering around Congress here?

Mrs. FIELD. I truly and honestly do not know. Do we keep a paid worker?

Mr. WHALEY. Miss Paul has answered.

Miss PAUL. We have a number of stenographers whom we pay, a bookkeeper whom we pay, the people connected with the Suffragist, our weekly organ.

Mr. WHALEY. Would you mind saying whether you are paid or not?

Miss PAUL. No; I am not. However, I have had my expenses paid when I have traveled.

Mr. WHALEY. You are not paid a salary?

Miss PAUL. No.

Mr. WHALEY. Have you any ladies here besides your stenographers and clerks in your headquarters going around these buildings and around the Capitol?

Miss PAUL. Our different organizers might go to the Capitol when they are in Washington. For instance, Miss Vernon is paid a salary of \$70 a month, out of which she pays all of her expenses. [Laughter.]

Mr. WHALEY. Just one other question—

Mr. VOLSTEAD. Certainly you have discovered the insidious lobby; let it be exposed.

Mr. WHALEY. How many organizers are there?

Miss PAUL. I shall have to give the question up. I think we have about 10, but several of them have no salary and pay their expenses.

Mr. WHALEY. Would you mind giving this committee that information, so it will go in the record? Would you mind telling us

that, so we will know them when they are going around the building?  
[Laughter.]

Miss PAUL. Yes; I will do that.

Mr. CARAWAY. Mrs. Field, you said awhile ago you thought the people were more corrupt than the legislature they selected. What about the history of politics in California? Did you not have a great struggle there to get away from a corrupt legislature? You said the railroads controlled the legislature.

Mrs. FIELD. Yes, indeed; we had a great struggle.

Mr. CARAWAY. And have the people become more corrupt and the legislature not so much so?

Mrs. FIELD. I do not say the legislature can not be corrupted, but when it is a question of persons I think that the vast ignorance in the mass of the population is a greater factor to deal with than the corruption which is found in the legislatures.

Mr. CARAWAY. Is it your view that it is easier to convince a legislature than it is the people?

Mrs. FIELD. I think that when an amendment comes before a legislature with dignity and the weight of national desire, yes; it would be easier to convince the legislature. It is perhaps a little hard to answer your Socratic argument, but we think we should get it by the easier method after the long and terribly hard fight we have put up and also by the less corrupting method.

Mr. CARAWAY. Has not the whole trend of politics been to get away from the legislature and go to the initiative and referendum?

Mrs. FIELD. Yes, sir; except when it comes down to the question of increasing the rights of the individual, upon which Democratic philosophy is based. When it comes to a question like that we have to settle it in the quickest possible way.

Mr. CALLAWAY. It is a question of expediency then and not of corruption of the people?

Mrs. FIELD. Both, sir.

Mr. DYER. I want to ask you if your argument that the legislatures should take this up and settle it, instead of having it voted on directly by the people, is not based in large measure upon the fact that when there in an election and there are candidates to vote for and amendments of different kinds, many people, sometimes a great majority of them, lose sight of the amendments altogether and do not vote on them.

Mrs. FIELD. Yes, indeed. In Oregon, I think, there were 37 amendments to be voted on, and it confused the issue very much.

Miss PAUL. I believe that our time has been consumed. We have more speakers, but these many questions have taken us far afield.

The CHAIRMAN. If you have any other speakers, I think I will ask the unanimous consent of the committee to hear them. I want to give you all the time you need.

Miss PAUL. That is very kind of you. We do not want to take more time than is necessary. We have had so many questions, and have gone so far afield, that perhaps we have not made very clear what we have come for.



## STATEMENT OF MISS ALICE PAUL.

Miss PAUL. What we have come here for is to ask just one simple little thing, that this Judiciary Committee should refer this Susan B. Anthony amendment to the House of Representatives. We are simply asking you to do the thing that you can do. I do not think we have to discuss particularly whether suffrage is right or wrong, though we have had speakers here to show that it was a good thing. All we have to ask of you is that you let the House of Representatives decide this question, and we have tried to bring people from all over the United States to show you the desire of women that this should be done.

I want to say just one more thing, that we are an absolutely non-partisan organization, made up of women who are strong Democrats, women who are strong Republicans, women who are Socialists and Progressives—every type of woman. We are all united on this one thing, that we put suffrage above all other questions irrespective of how it may help or hurt our own political party. In every election, if we have to go into any future elections, we simply pledge ourselves to this, that we will work just for suffrage and for men or against men according to the position taken on this National suffrage amendment.

Mr. WILLIAMS. May I ask a question. Is it the policy of your organization to fight this question out only as a National issue. Do you make any attempt to secure relief from the States?

Miss PAUL. The Congressional Union was organized, as its name indicates, to work for an amendment along the congressional line. When we came into existence just two years ago we felt that the time had come, because of the winning of so many suffrage States in the West, to use the votes of women to get suffrage nationally. In the early days of suffrage work in this country they confined their work to the States; but after we had won so many suffrage States in the West, that gave us a power in the presidential campaigns and a power in Congress which we did not have before, so we turned from the State method of work to the national method.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Do you do any State work now?

Miss PAUL. There are hosts of suffragists doing State work, and we help them, when we can, in our sister movement; but we are organized to concentrate on this particular piece of work, just as the College Suffrage League is organized to specialize on suffrage work in women's colleges.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Is it true that you prefer to approach this through the State legislatures rather than directly through the people?

Miss PAUL. We prefer to do it in the quickest way. Now that we have nearly 4,000,000 women able to vote, we believe the quickest way is through Congress.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask you a question, Miss Paul. Miss Todd, in answer to Judge Graham, suggested very strongly that if the Democratic party as a party should report this resolution and vote upon it, you and your organization would be aflame with enthusiasm for the party in the next election. Now, suppose the Democrats on this committee have not a majority, and the committee declines to report this amendment favorably. It would then be your policy to fight every man on the Democratic ticket whether he was for suffrage or not?

Miss PAUL. Well, I think it is a very great mistake to talk about what we are going to do. We have told you what we have done.

The CHAIRMAN. We can only judge the future by the past, and it seems to me we will come to a better understanding of the situation if we know what you are going to do to us. [Laughter and applause.] Instead of making the impression on the committee that your organization is nonpartizan, you have made the reverse impression. Your speakers have stated that you opposed every Democrat who ran for Congress last year, not because he was opposed to suffrage; you opposed a dozen or more of the strongest suffrage Democrats in America and held them responsible for what the party did not do.

Now, then, will you reverse that proposition, and if the Democrats of this Congress should submit this resolution and vote on it, would you and your organization support it with as much enthusiasm as you fought it the last time?

Mr. Moss. Mr. Chairman, doesn't it depend upon how the Democrats vote?

The CHAIRMAN. It did not depend on it last year.

Miss PAUL. We have had so many statements from the members of the committee, as to what we did——

The CHAIRMAN. I want to get at the nature of your political activity, if I can get it.

Miss PAUL. You do not quite understand what we have done.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us have your statement.

Miss PAUL. We first came into existence when this new administration of President Wilson's came in. We went to all Members of Congress here and tried to have this amendment put through at once. For the first time since the very early nineties we got the measure on the floor of the House and Senate, but when it came to getting a vote in the House we found we were absolutely blocked. There never had been a vote in the House of Representatives on the suffrage question.

We went again and again, as I explained this morning, to the Rules Committee, who control the apportioning of the time, and asked them to give us 5 or 10 minutes for the discussion of suffrage, and every time they said they could not do it, because the Democrats had met in caucus and resolved that suffrage should not come up in Congress.

I have a letter from Mr. Henry, the chairman of the Rules Committee. He says:

It would give me great pleasure to report the resolution to the House, except for the fact that the Democratic caucus by its direct action has tied my hands and placed me in a position where I will not be authorized to report this resolution during the present session of Congress unless the caucus is reconvened and changes its instructions. I am sure your good judgment will cause you to thoroughly understand my attitude.

[Laughter.]

When we found every single day, from May, when we went to the Rules Committee, until the close of Congress, we were met with this same statement, that the Democrats had decided in caucus not to permit suffrage to come up in the House, and when we found we could not do anything by argument or persuasion, we said, "We will go out to the women voters in the West and tell them how we are blocked at Washington and ask them if they will use their votes for the highest purpose they can—that is, to win suffrage for the women of the Nation."

And we did go into the district of every single man who was running for Congress on the Democratic ticket—43 men. We campaigned against every one of those 43 men to the best of our ability, and only 19 came back. Then we came back to Washington and we went again to the Rules Committee, and instead of being told by Mr. Henry about the Democratic caucus, we were told they had no greater desire in this world than to bring suffrage up. [Laughter and applause.] They told us we had thoroughly misunderstood them; that they had merely been waiting for the best possible opportunity to have the measure considered. We went to each Democratic Member, and each man said the same thing. And they met that first week and they voted to bring suffrage up on the floor for the first time in history and the measure came to a vote; and every one of these men whom we had campaigned against and who were still in Congress voted for us and a large number spoke for us.

The CHAIRMAN. They were already for it before you fought them, weren't they?

Miss PAUL. No; they met in the caucus and they refused to let the caucus even reconsider the measure. After they had met in caucus the first time and decided that suffrage was not a national issue, we were not a bit discouraged. We went to see nearly every man from a suffrage State before the caucus met again, and they refused, every single one of them, even to suggest to the caucus that it should reconsider the matter; and it was not until we went out and told their women constituents what they had done that they did reconsider the matter.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Are you a western woman?

Miss PAUL. No, I am from New Jersey. As to what we will do in the future we have no idea. We believe—we hope—we will never have to go into another election. We are appealing to the parties and to the men here in Washington to put the amendment through in this Congress.

The CHAIRMAN. You are certain to go into the next election against the Democrats if they do not give you a vote on this in the House, are you not?

Miss PAUL. I can not say what we are certain to do.

The CHAIRMAN. You are going to pursue the same policy next year that you did a year ago?

Miss PAUL. There are many circumstances that might change. We did pursue a policy, and I have told you what it was; but as to what we will do again we will have to consider.

The CHAIRMAN. You are the head of the organization. Can you tell me any reason for changing your policy?

Miss PAUL. Can you possibly tell me, for instance, what will be in the platform of the Democratic party in 1916? [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. I can tell you one plank that will not be in it, and that is a plank in favor of woman suffrage. It will not be there, and I suppose you will fight the Democratic party even though the Republicans do not put it in either.

What I want to know is, if the Democrats refuse to give you a vote on this question in this Congress, do you not propose to fight them just the same as you did in the election a year ago?

Miss PAUL. Now, we have come here just to ask your help—

The CHAIRMAN. If you can not answer that it is all right.

Miss PAUL. We have come to give you this message, that one-fifth of the votes for President come from the suffrage States——

The CHAIRMAN. Then you do not agree with Miss Todd that if we do submit this amendment that the country will be aflame with enthusiasm in behalf of the Democrats?

Mr. GARD. Mr. Chairman, as a prelude to my question, I hardly think that the committee should approach this matter in this hearing—which ultimately resolves itself into a matter of right—in a partisan sense of retaliation or personal favor.

Miss TODD. May I say what I did say?

Mr. GARD. I would like to ask for some facts to enlighten me. Mrs. Field, I think her name was, said she preferred to have somebody else answer my question as to the reason your organization had for asking Congress to submit this matter to States which had already either affirmatively or negatively voted on this question, when the same authority still exists in the States. That is what I would like to be informed about.

Miss PAUL. Why should we ask Congress to submit this when four States defeat it——

Mr. GARD. Oh, no. My question is this: Why should there be a resubmission to the voters by national direction, in States which have already either voted for it or voted against it, when ample authority exists in those same States to vote for it or against it again?

Miss PAUL. Merely because the majority of the men in one State do not want us to have suffrage does not mean we are going to give up our campaign.

Mr. GARD. You still do not answer my question. What reason can you give me why I as a Member of the Congress of the United States should vote to require all these States which have voted on it—whether they have voted for it or against it, I do not care—to vote again?

Miss PAUL. They have never voted on the question of the national amendment. All we are asking is that the Judiciary Committee submit this to the House, and the House and Senate submit it to the States; that the State legislatures shall be allowed to pass on this question as to whether we shall have a national amendment. That has never been up before.

Mr. GARD. You prefer that course to having it taken directly to the people?

Miss PAUL. We prefer this course because it is more direct and more easy, and because we have power to back it up.

Mr. GARD. Does your organization share the expressed view of Mrs. Field that the great electorate of the United States is corruptible?

Miss PAUL. It is simply because we have power to back up a national movement that we use this method.

Mr. GARD. Oh, you are using this because you think you have power to enforce it?

Miss PAUL. Because we know we have power. [Applause.]

Mr. TAGGART. Don't you once in a while find a woman here and there out West who, being a voter herself, is not so seriously concerned as to who shall be a voter in the State of New York?

Miss PAUL. Yes; we find women in the East who are antisuffragists.

Mr. TAGGART. I do not mean an antisuffragist. She is for suffrage in her own State, but she is not a propagandist, not worrying about

what women are doing in other States, letting them take their own course, believing that when they develop sufficient enthusiasm they will get the suffrage in their States. Don't you think you ought to have more States before you try this national movement?

Miss PAUL. We think all this advice about going back to the States proves beyond all cavil that we are on the right track.

Mr. TAGGART. Suppose you get fewer votes this time on the floor of the House than you got the other time. How much good would that do? Do you expect any votes from New York or the Republican side? Those men who did vote for you from New York are all gone. Do you expect any from Ohio? Any from Pennsylvania?

Miss PAUL. That is another argument for Federal work.

Mr. TAGGART. Any from Michigan?

Miss PAUL. That is another argument for Federal work.

Mr. TAGGART. If you get any votes you will get them where Democrats live, won't you?

Miss PAUL. In those States where the State referendum failed?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Do you think it is fair to those Members of Congress who have voted for woman suffrage and stood for woman suffrage to oppose them merely because a majority of their party was not in favor of your proposition? Is that gratitude or thankfulness?

Miss PAUL. Well, every man we opposed stood by his party decision, his party caucus.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Suppose there are Democrats on this committee who vote this out, who vote in the House for it, but as a party measure it is not taken up and supported by the party. Do you propose to oppose those Democrats who do stand by you?

Miss PAUL. What I would suggest to that would be——

Mr. VOLSTEAD. Mr. Chairman, it seems to me this line of inquiry is absolutely unfair and improper. It is not courteous.

The CHAIRMAN. It is fair if the lady is willing to answer it.

Mr. VOLSTEAD. But it seems to me it is cheap politics; I am tired of listening to it.

Mr. TAGGART. Have your services been bespoken by the Republican committee of Kansas or any other suffrage State in the next campaign?

Miss PAUL. We are greatly gratified by this tribute to our apparent worth.

Mr. TAGGART. They have not asked you?

Miss PAUL. They have not.

Mr. TAGGART. I understood they were not going to.

Mr. MOSS. May I ask a question? Please state whether or not it is a fact that the question is what is right and not what will be the reward or punishment of the Members of this committee or of Congress. Is not that the only question?

Miss PAUL. Yes. As I just said, we have come simply to ask that this committee report this amendment to the House, and we have brought these women here to show the desire of the women that you do so.

Mr. MOSS. Can you explain to the committee what the question of what you are going to do to a Member of this committee or a Congressman in regard to his vote has to do with the question of what we should do as our duty?

Miss PAUL. As I have said several times to-day, I do not see any reason for discussing that.

The CHAIRMAN. You have not a blacklist, have you?

Miss PAUL. No; we have nothing for the future. I have told you what we have had in the past.

Mr. TAGGART. You are organized for the chastisement of political parties that do not do your bidding willingly and at once? [Laughter.]

Mr. CARAWAY. You do not believe that this is a question on which the majority should pass? That it is a question on which the minority, if they have the power, would make the majority act? That is true, is it not?

Miss PAUL. The majority in the minority party?

Mr. CARAWAY. If you were representing the minority of the people of this country, both men and women, and you have the power, you think the minority ought to force the majority to accept woman suffrage, do you not?

Miss PAUL. I do not believe in a majority of men deciding for all women.

Mr. CARAWAY. A majority of men and women—do you believe the majority ought to govern in questions of this kind? The gentleman from West Virginia said it was a question of right or wrong. You indorse that, do you? It is not a question of whether the majority of men and women want it or not.

Miss PAUL. This is all so abstract. It is something we have decided to get. [Laughter.]

Mr. CARAWAY. I do not care for the reason. I am just asking you if you believe that the majority ought to be coerced if the minority has the power?

Miss PAUL. In the present situation—it is too difficult for me to answer.

Mr. TAGGART. Let me answer for the lady by saying it would be impossible for the minority to coerce the majority unless three-fourths of the States might contain the minority of the people, which would be impossible.

Miss PAUL. We have nothing more to present from our side.

Miss TODD. May I correct one statement of mine you have referred to? The statement I made was this, that naturally the women voters put justice to women above everything else; and in 1916 the party that does justice to women—I do not care what party it is—will get the immense proportion of the women's vote.

Mr. GRAHAM. Don't you think it is rather unbecoming to come before this committee holding out either hope of reward or threat of punishment? I am opposed to all this discussion of what is going to be the consequence. It is either right for us to send it to the House or it is wrong, and I am going to vote according to my particular conscience on that question, and I do not care whether the woman suffragists or the antisuffragists are opposed to me. I represent the views of my constituents as nearly as I can. Don't you think that is right? [Applause.]

Miss PAUL. Will you let me just thank you for this hearing?

The CHAIRMAN. You may have the privilege of revising your remarks, Miss Paul, and we will have the report printed, and you may have as many copies as we can spare.

Now we will hear Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, who appears for the antisuffragists.

The CHAIRMAN. Mrs. Dodge, if you are ready to present the views of your side upon the question, the committee recognizes you for not exceeding two hours.

**STATEMENT OF MRS. ARTHUR M. DODGE, PRESIDENT OF THE  
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE.**

Mrs. DODGE. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, we appear before you to-day as representing the women of this country who are organized to oppose woman suffrage. You have heard talk about the majority and majorities this morning and this afternoon. In our organization we do not represent the majority of the women of the country—yet. But we do consider that we represent the women of this country as they are to-day who are not members of either of the parties that have appeared before you—the women of the country.

We have come here to-day to ask you as a committee not to report this bill favorably to the House, because we consider that, in the first place, it is a question of State rights. Whether we are speaking to Democrats or Republicans makes no difference.

In the second place, we consider that the women of this country should be heard through the voters of their States, and that the women, as represented by their men—good, bad, and indifferent, honest or venal—should be heard through the men who represent them at the present time, and whom the majority of women are still perfectly willing to have represent them.

And we wish to call your attention to the fact that, opposed to or against the 11 full-suffrage States (not including Illinois, which has partial suffrage) we have a recorded majority against suffrage in 11 States. Before 1914, Wisconsin and Michigan—you know the majorities as well as I do; I will not take your time to quote them. In 1914, North and South Dakota, Missouri, Nebraska, and Ohio with a majority against suffrage of 100,000 more than in 1912, and in the recent elections the States which represent one-fourth of the population of this country, and probably about the same proportion of the Electoral College—New Jersey, Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania.

I have sat here and heard a great deal of talk about democracy and majorities. We claim in those 11 States that have voted against suffrage the enormous majority of the population of the States and the voters thereof, and we come here to ask you to still leave the question to the States to decide for themselves. And I wish to emphasize my appreciation of the point which your chairman made: Why should the question be sent by the Congress of the United States back to those 11 States to be voted on again? They can vote it whenever they please, and in such manner as they please.

I have the pleasure of introducing Miss Emily P. Bisselle, secretary of the Delaware Association, who will read a paper by Hon. John W. Foster, directly upon this question.

# STATEMENT OF MISS EMILY P. BISSELLE, SECRETARY OF THE DELAWARE ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

Miss BISSELLE. This is a paper prepared by the Hon. John W. Foster.

[Paper by Hon. John W. Foster, read by Miss Emily P. Bissell, of Wilmington, Del., at antisuffrage hearing before Judiciary Committee, December 16, 1915.]

It is not necessary to enter upon an examination of the arguments advanced in favor of female suffrage to decide upon the merits of the proposed amendment to the Federal Constitution. It involves a more important question, to wit, a radical change in our constitutional system of government. The electoral franchise is not embraced in the "inalienable rights" described in our Declaration of Independence, but it is one which is granted or withheld in the option of the governing power of the body politic. The founders of our Government in framing the Constitution which was to govern the people of the new Republic decided that the electoral franchise was one of the privileges which it was proper to be reserved to the States of the Union, and for more than a century our experience in government has demonstrated the wisdom of that decision. Our President, who has been a lifelong student of our history and constitutional practice, has wisely declared that the question of female suffrage is one which should be left to the several States to determine.

Aside from the question of a radical change in our constitutional system, a brief consideration must decide in favor of reserving the question of female suffrage to the action of each to determine for itself. In the recent elections four of the most important States of our Union, after a thorough canvass of the question, voted a decided majority against female suffrage, and yet it is now proposed by means of a constitutional amendment to compel those States to accept what they have so emphatically rejected. The unwisdom and injustice of such a policy is made more clear if we examine other phases of this franchise question.

Female suffrage is not the only electoral franchise the granting of which is a present question before the people of the several States. It involves the question of race, of labor, of immigration, of literacy, of property. We need only refer to California and other Pacific States which have strenuously opposed the free admission of the vast Asiatic population and have sought by every means in their legislative power to restrict or refuse to this class the rights of citizenship and property. It is understood that the Japanese Government assumes the position that no discrimination can be made against their subjects in entering the United States and in the exercise of all the privileges granted to immigrants from other countries, and a large body of our people, possibly a majority, feel that this position is a just one; but California would deem its sovereign rights invaded and outraged if the Asiatic immigrants should be admitted to the right to vote.

There is a vast population of negroes mainly resident in the Southern States, who, as the result of our great Civil War, were made citizens, but a number of these States have by legal enactment or otherwise kept these millions of people from the polls. Neither Alabama nor Mississippi, for instance, would look with favor upon a Federal amendment guaranteeing to these people the exercise of the electoral franchise.

A number of States grant to immigrants from foreign countries the right to vote before they have completed their American citizenship. It would hardly be regarded as just to the other States to compel them by means of a Federal amendment to grant the same right to unnaturalized foreigners residing within their limits. A literacy test restricting the right to vote exists in several of the States; likewise in some of them a property qualification is prescribed. Doubtless a large majority of the people of the United States are opposed to these restrictions, but as yet it has not been proposed to abolish them by means of a Federal amendment.

I trust this examination of the existing conditions of the various States will confirm you in your conviction that it is the part of wisdom to continue as a people to walk in the path marked out for them by the fathers of the country, and leave the question of female suffrage to the determination of each of the States, to which they assigned it.

JOHN W. FOSTER.

Mr. DYER. Mrs. Dodge, may I ask you a question, please?

Mrs. DODGE. Yes; certainly.

Mr. DYER. I understand from the paper which has just been read and from your opening statement that you are advocating that this question be left to the respective States. Is that correct?



Mrs. DODGE. Certainly.

Mr. DYER. What is the position of your organization with reference to the question of whether or not women should have the right to vote at all? Are you in favor of women voting?

Mrs. DODGE. We are in opposition to woman suffrage generally. We have never opposed women voting in school matters; we think that is a perfectly legitimate line for them to vote upon. The only trouble is, they do not vote upon those questions where authorized; only 2 per cent of them do so.

Mr. DYER. That is as far as you want them to go?

Mrs. DODGE. Yes; that is a perfectly legitimate line for them; we have always taken that position from the first. But that does not mean that women are to be drawn into politics and government, and we only draw the line at their taking part in politics and government. We believe that women should be interested in all public questions that come up, and that they have very great influence, but that they have not the time (I will not say the ability, because that might be turned against us) to devote themselves to what we consider men's business—government and politics. [Applause.]

Mr. DYER. Thank you very much for answering my question. I understand your position is that you favor submitting this question to the States directly?

Mrs. DODGE. Yes. We have always rather inclined to the idea that it should be submitted to the women themselves.

Mr. DYER. I understand that you favor that, and you also are opposed to women voting except in school matters, or something of that kind?

Mrs. DODGE. Yes; but we take the additional position that if women are given the vote in the different States that it is not only a privilege which they may exercise, but it is also a duty which they ought to perform, and that the women who feel that they must always perform their duties would feel that they had to perform that duty. And, taking that position, we do not for a minute concede the position of our opponents, that women would not need to vote unless they wanted to. It is not a question of wanting to vote or not wanting to vote, but that they ought to vote; and we take the position that we do not want that duty thrust upon the women of the country. [Applause.]

Mr. TAGGART. Well, would you say that it was just to require a lady to pay the income tax demanded by the Government—that is to say, a tax on incomes exceeding \$3,000 if she is single or \$4,000 if she is married—and then deny her the right to any voice as to who should be the representatives that voted that tax on her?

Mrs. DODGE. I certainly should. I have paid taxes in five States myself. I pay a personal tax in New York, an income tax to the United States, and taxes on real estate in four States at the present time, as well as my personal taxes in another State. I feel that I am entirely protected—that is what the tax is for. I think that tax-paying men are just as capable of taking care of my rights as of their own; and I feel that I am justified in saying that the men can quite as well look after that which ought to be and is their business as I can. [Applause.]

Mr. TAGGART. Why would you not let them look after everything else, then, and not vote at all?

Mrs. DODGE. The men, do you mean? I would not say that they ought to look after the babies.

Mr. TAGGART. Well, they are doing it.

Mrs. DODGE. Yes, so I hear; many of the suffragists' husbands have stayed at home to look after the children, so that the women could attend to their suffrage work.

The CHAIRMAN. Mrs. Dodge, if paying taxes entitled persons to vote, the converse might be true, that those who did not pay taxes should not be allowed to vote; is that not true?

Mrs. DODGE. Yes, Mr. Chairman; and then we see that the taxation in this country has nothing whatever to do with the vote.

Mr. TAGGART. Let me ask you just one more question. Can you explain why in those western States, and notably in Kansas, about which I do not wish to boast, but which I think is the most favored of all the States in the Union as to climate and soil, and which has the highest average wealth of any State in the Union—the ballot was voted to women—

Mr. GRAHAM. Have you not left out one thing, that it has also the best Representatives in Congress? [Laughter.]

Mr. TAGGART (continuing). The best class of women in the United States—

Mr. IGOE. I protest against that statement.

Mr. TAGGART (continuing). Why should the women of Kansas vote, when you deny that right to the women of other States who need the vote just as much as they do, and more?

Mrs. DODGE. There are not a very large percentage of them that vote—about 40 per cent.

Mr. TAGGART. Well, where there are about 9,000 men in a certain district in the State of New York, for instance, who vote to send a Member to the House of Representatives, there are about 75,000 votes cast for a Member of Congress in Kansas.

Mrs. DODGE. Well, is that to the point? If so, I will answer you by saying that we think that the men in Kansas did not quite know what they were doing when they gave the women the vote in Kansas; and a great many thousands of women there wish that they had not done so.

Mr. TAGGART. You are then opposed to having a State grant suffrage to its own women?

Mrs. DODGE. Not at all.

Mr. TAGGART. Then why do you say that the men did not know what they were about?

Mrs. DODGE. I do not know whether a majority or a minority of the voters of the State desired it.

Mr. TAGGART. Well, it was clearly a majority; about 30,000 majority voted for the franchise to women; and I have never heard a regret expressed in the State that that was done. [Applause.]

Mrs. DODGE. You are very fortunate.

Mr. TAGGART. And the State also went Democratic the same day. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. Will you introduce your next speaker, Mrs. Dodge?

Mrs. DODGE. I will next introduce Mrs. O. D. Oliphant, who is the Secretary of the New Jersey Association.

**STATEMENT OF MRS. O. D. OLIPHANT, REPRESENTING NEW JERSEY ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE.**

Mrs. OLIPHANT. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, since 1912 woman suffrage has been defeated 13 times at the polls, in 11 States. Since 1912, 18 State legislatures have defeated woman suffrage. We feel, as Mrs. Dodge has said, that this question should be left to the States to decide; California and Kansas and Colorado and the other woman suffrage States have had that privilege. We in New Jersey, and the other States that have defeated it, wish to have that privilege allowed to us. Pennsylvania defeated woman suffrage last November by the majority of 55,686. Throughout the State the majority outside of Philadelphia against woman suffrage was 10,414. This majority against woman suffrage in Pennsylvania was given with a very light vote in the State. It is estimated that about 14 per cent of the voters of the State voted for woman suffrage at that election.

In New Jersey, my native State, we defeated woman suffrage by a majority of 51,108. That majority is two and one-half times the majority given for President Wilson. Woman suffrage was defeated in New Jersey in every county of the State but one, Ocean County was carried for woman suffrage by a majority of 157, and it contains but 1 per cent of the voters of the State of New Jersey. Throughout the State the vote was uniform.

Woman suffrage was defeated in the industrial, the educational and the rural centers of the State. In fact, the rural vote polled against woman suffrage was especially heavy. The campaign waged there, by the suffragists and the anti-suffragists, was an educational campaign. They had every opportunity to campaign the State, and it was defeated by 51,108.

In view of all this, we ask that you leave this matter to Pennsylvania, to New Jersey, and to the other 27 States that have expressed within the borders of the State their opposition to woman suffrage.

We feel that in their attempt to get a Federal amendment the suffragists are trying to get a short cut to something they desire. May I point out that, if you should grant an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and if woman suffrage should prove detrimental to the State, it would be well-nigh impossible to repeal it? So we feel that it would be unjust, undemocratic and un-American to force upon the States something that they have already defeated within their own borders.

Dr. Shaw said this morning that being deprived of the vote means being deprived of many other things which belong to us as human beings. Miss Todd a few moments ago said that it is impossible for a disfranchised man to get justice; and it is equally impossible for a disfranchised woman. Dr. Shaw was not specific. She did not state what rights we are deprived of. We have educational rights; we have legal rights that you men do not have, and which you have given us. We have every opportunity, in an economic and industrial way. We find, as a matter of fact, that the best laws for the protection of the women of this country are to be found in the male suffrage States, rather than in the woman suffrage States.

Do not misunderstand me: The woman suffrage States have splendid laws for the women of their States; but they have no better laws

than the women of the male suffrage States. For instance, women owning property have excellent laws for their protection. The wage-earning woman has excellent laws for her protection; it was a male suffrage State which first passed the mothers' pension law; it was a male suffrage State that first passed a minimum wage law; and you were told here a few moments ago that the women of the West must come here to the East and relieve our oppression in child labor.

I desire to point out that the great State of Pennsylvania passed a child-labor law in their last legislature that eliminated 81 per cent of the child labor of the State of Pennsylvania. The male suffrage States in this Union have ever been pioneers in protective and remedial legislation for the women and children of those States. We are not suffering any injustice, legally, economically, or educationally.

We ask, gentlemen, in view of the defeats which I have cited here and which are wholly pertinent in this hearing, that you refuse to submit this question this year.

Mr. TAGGART. May I ask a question? Did I understand you to say that if suffrage for women ever became a national institution they would think so much of it that the women never would surrender it, and it never could be undone?

Mrs. OLIPHANT. No; I did not say that.

Mr. TAGGART. Well, did you not say that it would be extremely difficult to undo it if they once had it?

Mrs. OLIPHANT. I did not say that that was because the women would become so much in love with it.

Mr. TAGGART. Well, you said that it would be more difficult to undo it than to do it.

Mrs. OLIPHANT. This was my statement, that the suffragist here are trying to get a short cut through Congress by presenting this proposition, and that if a Federal amendment to the Constitution of the United States is adopted granting woman suffrage, and if it should become objectionable in my State, for example, it would then be very difficult to repeal it, or it might be very difficult to repeal it.

Mr. TAGGART. Well, they would not agree with you as to its being objectionable after they once got it.

Mr. GRAHAM. No; the line of thought is that it would be the fact that 20 States, holding a minority of the population of the United States, might pass this amendment to the Constitution over the protest and objection of the larger States with the greater populations; and what you mean, I suppose, is that although those States might object to it, it would be very difficult for them ever to get it repealed?

Mrs. OLIPHANT. Yes; that is the idea.

Mr. TAGGART. You do not mean 20 States; you mean 36.

Mr. GRAHAM. Yes; 36 States.

Mr. MOSS. May I ask the lady a question, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; certainly.

Mr. MOSS. I do not think it is material; but for the purpose of showing that every organization that tries to accomplish anything pays the expenses of those who work for it, and possibly some of them receive a salary, and as that question was asked of the suffragists, I want to ask you if that rule as to such payment prevails in your organization?

Mrs. OLIPHANT. I desire to say that whenever I speak during campaigns I receive a salary.

Mr. MOSS. And your organization has in it paid workers, has it not?

Mrs. OLIPHANT. Yes.

Mr. MOSS. Why, certainly.

Mr. GRAHAM. I did not suppose that any of those questions were directed towards the creation of an organization and the paying of salaries; I supposed that they were directed toward the question whether there was a "corrupt lobby" fund. [Laughter.]

Mr. TAGGART. There was no such fund developed in the testimony.

Mr. GRAHAM. I quite agree with you; therefore it is unnecessary to pursue that line of questions further.

Mr. MOSS. Yes.

Mrs. DODGE. I now introduce Mrs. James Wells, of Brownsville, Tex., who is the present head of the organization now existing in Texas, which is a temporary State organization at this time.

#### **STATEMENT OF MRS. JAMES WELLS, TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN TEXAS ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE.**

Mrs. WELLS. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I would like to call your attention to a few salient facts connected with the question whether this proposition should go through Congress, or be sent to the people directly. It is an unpleasant subject, but I will have the courage to open it.

There are some of our citizens who doubt seriously the wisdom of the fifteenth amendment to our Constitution. That affects us in the South. It is roughly estimated that there are over 4,000,000 colored women in the South. I have asked the suffragists whether, if the women are enfranchised in this country, they are going to allow those colored women to vote or not; and if they do not allow them to vote, how are they going to prevent it? And even if they can prevent it, is it wise to invite such a condition?

I asked this question of a leading suffragist in the city of New Orleans, at their headquarters on Camp Street, and she said, "Why, we have no problem to face at all; we do not intend to allow them to vote. We will disfranchise them, even though it should be necessary to sacrifice some of the white women."

A southern woman told me in Washington yesterday that she had become a suffragist—I did not open the conversation; I never open that subject with a suffragist. [Laughter]. But I was unexpectedly attacked at a social function, and she put me on the defensive—and it is very easy to put an antisuffragist on the defensive, because those are our only tactics—and she called upon me to say why we had so little consideration for our sex as to obstruct other women in what they wanted, and so on. She said, "I am a suffragist." I said, "You are a southern woman and a suffragist? I do not understand how that can be". She said, "The reason why I am a suffragist is because I have seen the negro servants have the vote when I had none." Then I said, "What are you going to do about the negro women? There are as many negro women as men, if not more."

Mr. NELSON. Do the negro men vote—their husbands?

Mrs. WELLS. No; she did not say whether they were married or not. She said that the negro men were voting, and that was the reason why she thought she should have a vote.

Mr. NELSON. But what I am trying to get is the point that you are making now; do the negro men vote there in the South?

Mrs. WELLS. Yes.

Mr. NELSON. Why do you conclude that the negro men vote there?

Mrs. WELLS. The suffragist said that; I do not know anything about whether they vote or not, of course, because I am not connected with politics. But the suffragist said that the reason she had become a suffragist was that she saw negro men voting when she could not vote. I doubted whether the negro men voted, because I had heard that they were not allowed to vote very freely in the South—but I can not prove that. [Laughter.] She said that they did; that she knew it, because she had seen them going around in a limousine to cast their vote. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I have seen them voting by thousands and tens of thousands; but they do not vote as much as they used to [Laughter.]

Mrs. WELLS. Well, that is germane; but we were not discussing that question; I wanted to get at the question of the negro women voting; and so I said, "What are you going to do about letting the negro women vote if you have woman suffrage?" She said, "We are not going to allow them to vote." I said, "How are you going to prevent them? I do not think you can." She said, "We can prevent it, just as we do or can prevent the negro men from voting."

She had just said she had seen negro men voting, and I did not contradict her, because she said something so valuable to our argument in the next sentence that I let her go on with that.

Now, to come back to the negro question, some one said this morning, "We are going to have a white South because of the figures;" she said that if the women were enfranchised in this country we would have a white South politically, because there were more white men and women than the entire negro population in the South.

We contend that the change would result in a smaller proportion of white votes being cast than is now the case, because of these facts: These figures are taken from the United States Census reports—I do not know if I am very clear, because I am an inexperienced speaker, but I am very much in earnest; I have come 2,000 miles to help Mrs. Dodge in presenting our views.

Woman suffrage would increase the power of negroes in politics, as the per cent of negro women to all women in the United States is 9.9 per cent, while the percentage of negro men to all the men of voting age is 9.1 per cent. In the 11 Southern States in which women are most numerous, Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas, the percentage of negro women of voting age to all women over 21 years of age is 35.3, while the percentage of negro men to all men is only 33.3. We take this from the abstract of the census of 1910. This is not a wild statement.

Who would doubt that a larger percentage of eligible negro women would vote than of white women? Two States have a larger negro population than white—only two. Many counties in the South have from two to three times as many negro as white residents. I heard

one of the ladies of the suffrage association say to-day that they numbered in their organization Democrats, Republicans, and Socialists, and every form of political activity. We are happy in including both the two great political parties; but I am equally happy to inform you that we include no Socialists—not in the anti-suffragists. We have no support from them, and we never support them. But we have many leading Democratic and Republican citizens. I am a Catholic and a Democrat. I can not understand how Southern women—I speak for them; I claim no knowledge of the Northern women—I can not understand how Southern women can so far forget the memory of Thomas Jefferson and State rights as to insist upon having a minority of men in your Congress pass this constitutional amendment against our desire.

Now, you know that we have peace in the South—this is an unpleasant subject, but I have got the courage to open it, and I am going to open it—we have peace in the South after 50 years. Thirty years after Appomattox the rush of volunteers in the Spanish-American War showed a preponderance of Southern names that proved that peace in the South. We all live under the same flag and we love it and fight for it, and we enrolled many men of the South to fight for the Union in the Spanish-American War. A great many men of the South, and of the North too, believe that the question of race hatred would have been settled peacefully and wisely, had it not been for a few malcontents and the vitriolic pen of one woman. We all believe that.

Here are a few malcontents of our sex who are going to take the responsibility of opening up in the South the question of State rights. It will certainly be opened if the gentlemen on this committee do not hear our appeal, and pass it on to the next and then to the next, and allow this short cut that Mrs. Oliphant so well described to get this power into their hands.

Now, there is one thing I would like to refer to: Some years ago in the Texas Legislature there was a resolution known as the Burmaster resolution No. 19, the object of which was for the question of suffrage to be submitted to the voters; but the wording of the resolution said "to the people." I opposed this resolution, and a very dear friend, and an ardent suffragist, tried to dissuade me. I said, "Very well, then; why do you not let the people vote on it? You say that here women are not people, because they do not vote; construe the phrase as including women, and we will let it go through the legislature without opposition." Only men were "people" in Texas last April, but the Burmaster resolution did not provide for leaving the question to the qualified voters alone. I then proved to her that there is no woman suffragist in this country that is willing to leave this question to be submitted to the vote of the men and women of this country; when they do that, we will not oppose them. But they will never do it, because they fear the result. That would be pure democracy.

Mr. TAGGART. Do not ladies vote at school elections in Texas?

Mrs. WELLS. I do not know, because I know nothing about politics.

Mr. TAGGART. But do they not vote in school elections?

Mrs. WELLS. No, sir; I do not think they do. I do not think they vote on anything.

Mr. TAGGART. They certainly vote at school elections.

**Mrs. WELLS.** No, sir; I do not think they have any franchise; if they do I do not know anything about it. We do not oppose that on principle.

**Mr. TAGGART.** The colored women do not take any part in politics in any of the States—we have them in all the States.

**Mrs. WELLS.** But colored women would take part in sending a woman to the legislature if they had the right.

**Mr. TAGGART.** They would be in the same position as colored men.

**Mrs. WELLS.** I think they would show far more zeal than colored men—as I know them in Texas; of course, I do not know the darkies in any other State; but I know the Texas colored women would vote. Of course, I can only speak of my own State. It is a difficult proposition to discuss as to other States.

**Mr. TAGGART.** Do you think a colored woman would be a much more difficult person to deal with than a colored man?

**Mrs. WELLS.** Yes, sir; and she would vote in Texas. She would be proud to vote.

**Mrs. DODGE.** I will next introduce Miss Lucy Price.

**The CHAIRMAN.** Of what association?

**Mrs. DODGE.** She is the secretary of the Cleveland, Ohio, association. That is the branch in Cleveland of the State association of Ohio.

#### **STATEMENT OF MISS LUCY PRICE, SECRETARY OF THE CLEVELAND ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE.**

**Miss PRICE.** Mr. Chairman, you were told this afternoon that our opponents, or at least those who were speaking, put the question of woman's suffrage above every other question. Now, I do not think my association does that. We have two things that we are most vitally interested in, and we believe that they are one and the same thing; that is, first, the good of the country, the best thing for all the men and the women and the children of this country; and the second thing is democracy.

Now, I believe in democracy sufficiently to believe that in the end, democracy is going to mean the best thing for this country, whether at the time some vote is taken on some question and an affirmative vote is taken, whether we believe the negative vote is right or not. We do not believe we can progress as we have progressed, and that we can achieve the kind of progress which has made the nation what we are to-day without democracy.

You were told that if the minority could not control the great majority, this democracy would be a different thing. The very thing that differentiates this nation, as a nation, is that we do have majority rule. Now, I believe that on the question of woman suffrage, above every other question, we must consider what is going to be the best for the country, and what is in accordance with our basic principles of democracy. This morning I heard in this room the most outspoken, the most dangerous arguments against democracy that I have heard in many a year in any public forum. The appeal against democracy was that we want a Federal amendment, because we do not want the American voters to vote on this question, because they



will be driven in blocks on the question; and we do not want them to be given an opportunity to do that.

Mr. GRAHAM. Because they are ignorant and corrupt?

Miss PRICE. Because the American voters are ignorant and corrupt; you were told in these very words that such people as that control our elections and control our Government. You were told in effect, then, that you gentlemen were sent here by just such blocks of people as that—ignorant, corrupt aliens, who control our Government. Those were the exact words. It was an attack on the open door policy. I want to be fair to the speaker and say that she did say afterwards that she did not attack it; that she believed in it; but every argument she made was an argument along that line.

I am just as much an American as anyone else; my ancestors have fought in every war that we have had. But when they fought they were fighting for just such a democracy—which means that the voter votes on such questions in which he is interested, and upon which we can trust the voters of this country. We were told that the suffragists are going to get the vote, and it is simply a question of how they are going to do it.

Of course, we think that the question of how you are going to do a thing is just as important as what you are going to do, if we are going to have an honest and upright Government.

You were told that there were only two ways of getting this woman's suffrage; you were told that one way was too hard, and that was by the votes of the voters. Out in our State, of which I am very proud, we defeated a measure called the constitutional stability measure, which was to some extent to curtail the frequency of initiative and referendum elections at the time when more and more initiative and referendum measures were being passed all over the country. At this very time, when we had said it was the first time in our history that we were going to have the people vote directly for presidential nominations; you were told that at this time that "we will not get the people of the States, if we can help it, to vote upon this proposition, because it is too hard to do it—not because it is not fair or because it is not right, but because it is too hard to do; we want, therefore, some voters, some legislators, to settle this question for the whole country." The first method is too hard, and we claim that the second method is undemocratic.

You were told that the legislatures were more corrupt than you—I suppose they mean the legislatures. But, gentlemen, do not be too secure, because just as I was taking my seat a suffragist said, "Yes; I am going to sit here and watch them, for all of them belong to the vicious interests; and I want to see to what extent this committee is vicious and to what extent it is corrupt." [Laughter.]

And you see the great mass of the voters of this country, the aliens and all the others, are not the only people who are under the suspicion of being corruptible and of being corrupt.

Mr. GRAHAM. The committee has not arisen above its source. [Laughter.]

Miss PRICE. I am willing to trust the people of the States; I am willing to trust this committee, too. You were told that any man who believed in suffrage also believed in the constitutional amendment, and that any man who did not believe in suffrage talked about State's rights; and then I think, gentlemen, that all the men on this

committee ought to have been very proud to hear one man repudiate that statement by admitting that he was for woman's suffrage, and he spoke about it, asking questions which made me think he never could vote for this amendment. So that perhaps some of the other statements of the hopes and the warnings of our opponents may be quite wrong, too.

You were told all of these things about not trusting the voters. Every argument which that particular speaker made this morning—and she is one of the highest officers in the country of the suffrage movement—every argument against leaving this question to the voters of the States, was an argument against our present method of holding every election that is ever held in this country on any possible question, or for any possible candidate. Every argument that was made against our present democracy, and our present kind of government.

You were told that more than 1,000,000 men had said "Yes" on woman's suffrage in four States this year; and that those were more men than had said "Yes" in all the nine States that had adopted it. I can not see the logic of that remark. The wife of one of our Congressmen said that she could save more money in Washington than in Cleveland, because she would save 5 cents in Washington every time she walked down town, and could save only 3 cents by walking down town in Cleveland. [Laughter.]

It seems to me that the same kind of logic as the statement that 1,000,000 has said "Yes" in these four States, which was more men than had said "Yes" in all of the nine States that had adopted it. Now, gentlemen, if 1,000,000 men said "Yes" in those four States, and there was a majority of over 437,000 against it, then there are 1,500,000 men who said "No" on woman's suffrage; and yet you are asked to compare that million men who said "Yes" with the men who said "Yes" in those nine States. That frank admission was made, that of the tremendous increase in population in the Eastern States—of the tremendous difference in population in the Eastern States and the Western States—that was made an argument that those Western States, with that small number of voters, should control those Eastern States, where a decided minority meant more men than all the majorities in those nine States put together.

MR. WILLIAM E. WILLIAMS. May I interrupt you a moment?

MISS PRICE. Yes; certainly.

MR. WILLIAM E. WILLIAMS. One of the things that went to make up my mind was this question of uniformity in suffrage. In Illinois the women vote on presidential electors, and as has been said here, two-thirds of the officers elected. So many States have total or universal suffrage that I felt that there should be a uniformity and that the same class of citizens who vote for the President in one State ought to vote for President in all the States; and I know no other way by which we could act in uniformity of suffrage except by means of an amendment to the Federal Constitution.

I would like to hear you or some one else who is informed—as I know you are—on the very question which I present here: Ought we not to have uniformity, and how can we have uniformity except by means of an amendment to the Federal Constitution?

Miss PRICE. I think the question would imply——

Mr. GRAHAM (interposing). Would you allow me to suggest that one thought in connection with that was—so that when she answers she may cover the whole subject—it seemed to me that there was uniformity in this, that each State prescribed the qualifications of its own electors; now, no matter how persons voted in a State, that did not and could not affect the electoral representation in the Congress; so that the same uniformity was secured, although you had diversity in each State; that is the matter for the States to settle for themselves.

Mr. WILLIAM E. WILLIAMS. Well, I assume that the gentleman is attempting to answer the question for you, which was asked of you; but I prefer to hear the lady.

Miss PRICE. Yes; whichever the gentleman intended to do, I am very grateful to him. It is true, of course, as the gentleman said, that we have uniformity to that extent; that our electoral college is based not upon the number of electors, but upon the population, and that therefore the State which has adopted woman suffrage just cited—as the poor State of Illinois has done in that undemocratic and partial enfranchisement of the women of Illinois—when a State says that its women shall vote for the President of the United States, that State is being represented in the presidential vote exactly as in other votes, as that particular State desires, and that, under our belief, each State gets what is best for it; and that can not possibly work any injustice to that State, and I do not see how it could work any injustice to any other State. I think the question assumes, however, that men and women are different classes of people, with different interests.

Now, of course, we do not accept that; women are not a class. We are a sex. That means that we belong to every class there is; that we are half of every class there is; and by "class" I mean any group of people that has economic and political interests; that we belong to every class and our interests are identical with those of every class; and I think that the last presidential election proved that, when the only man that was elected on the Democratic platform, did not draw overwhelmingly from the suffrage States. President Wilson would not be our President to-day if all the women suffragists in all the States which had suffrage had supported Mr. Roosevelt. Mr. Roosevelt carried only one of those woman's suffrage States; and although the rest of the country had not said that woman should vote for the President of the United States; so that, in its actual working up, it makes no great difference, apparently; and as a matter of principle, as the gentleman said, the State is being represented as it sees fit to be represented.

Mr. WILLIAM E. WILLIAMS. But this is true, is it not, that women are the only class of citizens that do not vote in all the States?

Miss PRICE. As I said before, we are not a class. If you mean we are the only group——

Mr. WILLIAM E. WILLIAMS. Yes; of course, I mean substantially that.

Miss PRICE. Then it is not true. The men in the standing Army and the Navy of this country do not vote in New York State or in Ohio; not because they are considered inferiors but because the Government believes that they are better protecting the country in that

way, and that they can better protect the country if they are outside of politics.

Mr. WILLIAM E. WILLIAMS. You say that they are not entitled to vote in their home State?

Miss PRICE. Not in New York State.

Mr. MOSS. May I ask a question?

The CHAIRMAN. If the lady has no objection.

Mr. MOSS. You say there are only two issues involved: First, what is best for the country, which would be a question of expediency—

Miss PRICE. Yes; and which would relate to the whole question of woman's suffrage, State or national—

Mr. MOSS (continuing). First, expediency, and second, you said the preservation of democracy, did you not?

Miss PRICE. Yes.

Mr. MOSS. Now, taking the last point first, is it your position that to amend the Constitution is undemocratic?

Miss PRICE. It is my position that to amend the Federal Constitution on any question which is close to the people, which all the people understand as well as they do the suffrage question; which concerns them in their every-day lives; which needs no technical knowledge to take a stand upon—that to amend the Constitution in that way, in direct veto of the will expressed by the voters of many of the States, is extremely undemocratic and never was intended by the people who framed that Constitution. [Applause.]

Mr. MOSS. Then you are aware of the fact that that extremely undemocratic thing has been done before in the Constitution or the Amendments thereto?

Miss PRICE. I think the gentlemen of the committee and the suffragists will agree with me that the amendments to our Constitution which have been adopted—or every one except the enfranchisement of the negro—have been amendments which were not concerned with ever day things which we all understood; they have concerned with judicial reforms.

Mr. MOSS. Has there not been an amendment to the Constitution on the very question of voting and who should vote?

Miss PRICE. Yes; there has been. The enfranchisement of the negro, after a majority of the voters in this country had elected the man President who was standing for the things which the people believed to be in line with the enfranchisement.

Mr. MOSS. Then when the amendment to the Constitution of the United States does take cognizance of the persons who shall vote; when it says in the Constitution that "the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude," it is taking cognizance of the class of people who shall not be kept from voting in the several States, is it not?

Miss PRICE. I think if it were, it would say "class," along with "race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

Mr. MOSS. Well, at least it is taking cognizance of the people who shall not be prevented from voting, is it not?

Miss PRICE. It is; yes.

Mr. MOSS. Then, if that is true—and it is already one of our amendments—we are not going very far afield if we add another

class or another group of people, if you prefer that expression, are we?

Miss PRICE. I think we are going very far afield when we attempt to enfranchise people, when for the first time in the history of the world those people have an organization against that enfranchisement.

Mr. MOSS. Then, as I understand your contention, because you have formed an organization, you think that should be conclusive on those who want suffrage.

Miss PRICE. No; I can not say that; apparently the suffragists think it should be conclusive on us.

Mr. MOSS. I am not asking you what they think.

Miss PRICE. Well, I think the gentleman has no reason to assume that; I do not say that because we have formed an organization against woman's suffrage, women should not be enfranchised; I say it is because there is not, to any degree, acceptance of enfranchisement among the women themselves, and because we have a democracy without it, in that every class is represented; and because we have the expressed will of the voters of this country, in a great number of States, representing the largest populations in the country, that Congress is doing an undemocratic thing when it says that a minority of those people, represented by legislatures, and not through their own votes, shall enfranchise the women of this country.

Mr. MOSS. Well, there has been no national test on this question yet?

Mr. PRICE. No; no national test; and I believe that if our opponents—I do not want to refer to them so frequently—but I believe if our opponents had tried for a Federal amendment before the question had been tried out in so many States, that might have been a basis of argument. I believe that that test has been far reaching enough to indicate, in some degree, the consensus of opinion among the people of this country.

Mr. MOSS. Now, we have been discussing the second question that you said was involved.

Miss PRICE. Yes.

Mr. MOSS. Now, coming back to the first question: You said it was a mere question of expediency?

Miss PRICE. I did not think "expediency" was a "mere" question when I used it. Please remember that I do not use the expression "expediency" in the sense in which our opponents use it, through an offer of rewards or threats of punishment to the persons voting against them. I do not mean personal expediency.

Mr. MOSS. Well, national expediency.

Miss PRICE. What is best for the whole country.

Mr. MOSS. What is best for the whole country; that means national expediency.

Miss PRICE. That means ultimate national expediency.

Mr. MOSS. Then you believe that the sole question is, what is national expediency, and not whether justice and right as discriminating between citizens is involved?

Miss PRICE. I do not believe that injustice is ever expedient; and if I believed that there were any question of injustice involved I would consider it inexpedient.

Mr. MOSS. Well, now we are coming to the point. If, then, as a matter of fact, to discriminate between citizens of the same nation as to a privilege is an injustice, you would withdraw your question of expediency, would you not?

Miss PRICE. I certainly should, if I believed that to keep the women disfranchised was unjust, I would certainly withdraw my opposition.

Mr. TAGGART. How is it possible that a lady who can present an argument as well as you can, and with such a knowledge of the Constitution and of the laws of this country as you have, is content with the political status of a child? [Applause.]

Miss PRICE. That is an extremely disarming way of putting the question. But incidentally the gentleman is forgetting that I belong to the "vicious" element. I do not consider that I have the political status of a child, because, after all, the political status of a child depends upon the child's sex: if it is a boy, it will become a voter. If I believed that politics was the most important thing in the country, that that was the only way that any kind of ability could be used, and if I believed I had ability, I would want to be a voter. But I do not consider that the work that men do in politics—although this is not as flattering as I could wish—is any more important than the work that women are doing outside of politics. [Applause.] I do not consider that any ability which anyone may have must necessarily be put into political channels in order to be worth while.

Mr. TAGGART. Allow me to say that if every man was as well posted as you are in the government of the United States, we would be a thousand years ahead of our times.

Miss PRICE. Well, at least I am perfectly willing to trust the men.

I want to take up just one more thing that was said this morning, when you were told that if you had it in your power, or if Congress had it in its power, to decide this question, it would be a different thing; that you simply submit it to the legislatures of the States.

But, gentlemen, if you submit it, it goes with your recommendation; that is why we have our Constitution as it is; that is why we have Congressmen, because we elect Congressmen, our States elect Congressmen, and as the suffragists admit, legislatures represent the best public opinion, I want to say that we women send men to Congress just as much as the men, because we represent public opinion as much as the men. But we want them to take from us a certain preliminary study and consideration of problems; we want them to represent our rights; we want them to represent us; and when we have expressed a definite will on such a question as woman's suffrage we do not expect them to veto that will; but we want them to consider first what is best for this country, and then those things which we believe not only best but necessary changes in our Constitution; and if this question does go to the legislatures of the States it goes with the recommendation, the personal indorsement, of every Congressman who votes for it.

Mr. GRAHAM. That is right.

Miss PRICE. I have taken more time than I expected to, and I do not want to say very much more; but I want to say something about one reason why we believe it is inexpedient for you to grant woman's suffrage: We believe it is an extremely valuable thing for the country to keep outside of politics, outside of the position in which you gentlemen are placed—when someone comes before you

and says "we are going to defeat your party if you do not vote for our measure"—we believe it is a valuable thing to keep one-half of our population in a situation where political consideration and whims are not going to control our motives; where nonpartisanship—and I do not mean the kind of nonpartisanship that you had quoted to you this afternoon; I mean actually nonpartisanship of one-half of our society—I believe that this is a valuable thing in the forming of public opinion.

We believe that every problem which we have to-day is too much in politics—is too much concerned with political expediencies, and we do not believe that the cure of too much politics is more politics. We believe that the vote is sacred, and a wonderful thing; and we believe in democracy, but we also believe it is desirable to keep a part of our society outside of political workings and political machinery, so that we can perform nonpartisan and nonpolitical work; and we can go before the Democrats and the Republicans equally and ask for the passage of a measure on the merits of that measure, and not on the ground of whether we voted last time or will vote next time for that party, or how many votes we have, anyway.

We believe that we represent in this country an almost new power—the power of an awakened womankind. Women are more interested in public questions to-day; they are more interested in what is being done than they have ever been in the history of the world, and we believe it is going to be a disaster to every State in the Union if you say to them, "You can not have any new power; you can not supplement the political work that we are doing by this nonpolitical work of maintaining the balance of our democracy, by maintaining the balance of our public opinion; you must work through politics as we are doing; it is the only medium there is, and the one which you must use."

We believe that would be a distinct loss to the country. Every woman who is prominent for having done great public good and performing great public work has done so in a State where neither she nor the women with her have a vote. Every woman who has become prominent in a suffrage State, including Illinois, excepting where they achieved it before suffrage was granted, every such woman has become prominent for having contributed exactly the same service as man—nothing better, nothing higher. That is not because we are superior in the States where women do not vote; it is because we have been given the same medium and put in the same environment and are going to accomplish the same thing and nothing more.

Now, we believe not only that it is more suitable, but that it is more valuable to have both kinds of service than it is to have only one, and that we are going to be of inestimable value, and of inestimably greater value, to society if you allow us to remain in that non-political, nonpartisan position.

And you were told this morning that the suffragist speaker trusted the people, when what she meant was the legislatures; she said that we do not consider women "people"—and they do not even consider voters people. We trust the voters.

I am going to work against woman's suffrage in my own State, if it comes up; I am going to work against it in any State where I happen to be; but I am going to trust the voters of those States to vote for the thing they consider best; and if they vote for woman's

suffrage, I can not say, "We have not had fair treatment"; we would not have anything to complain of. We are simply asking you to keep us in that position where our own welfare and our own hopes rest with the people of our own States. [Applause.]

Mrs. DODGE. The next speaker, and the last, will be Mrs. A. J. George, who is the chairman of the executive committee of the Massachusetts Association.

# STATEMENT OF MRS. A. J. GEORGE, REPRESENTING THE MASSACHUSETTS ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

Mrs. GEORGE. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen: You have been very patient. A great deal of material has been brought to you which had no place before this committee, when you had before you, as I see it, only two questions: Should this committee refer this question to the Sixty-fourth Congress for action? and Is the Sixty-fourth Congress a proper place to bring up this question of the enfranchisement of women? I have listened through eight months strenuous campaign in four separate States, and through these days here in Washington to advocates, earnest and somewhat—to borrow the adjective—"inflammable," of woman suffrage, and out of it, all I can get as their reason for coming to you is that it is a long, long way to woman suffrage through the various States, and they want a short cut.

One has a peculiar satisfaction in coming to a body of men the majority of whom stand for the ideals of democracy laid down by the great founder of democracy, Thomas Jefferson. He told us that democracy ceased to be such when those who made the laws ceased to be those who could enforce the laws. Furthermore, he told us that woman's part in the democracy was not for participation in government, but for protection under that government.

The question of the vote has been treated here as if it were a reward for services rendered. It is not an order of merit; it is not a reward for services rendered; it is a right which becomes a responsibility and, therefore, is a responsibility in the first instance and is given to those who, on the whole, show the best promise of carrying out the various responsibilities involved.

Although there are some changes in the personnel of the committee since last year, you remember well, I am sure, the arguments given to you last year, and this committee knows that there is not a single new argument which has been brought to you. There have been new threats of disaster brought to you should you vote against woman's suffrage, but there is not a single new argument that has been brought for woman's suffrage. But we who are opposed to woman's suffrage bring you four brand new arguments in the vote of four great States, containing more than a quarter of the population of the United States, which went on record in October and in November against woman's suffrage.

Mr. MOSS. May I ask a question there?

Mrs. GEORGE. Certainly.

Mr. MOSS. Then, according to your reasoning, if those four States had voted on the question of prohibition and voted against it, that should prevent the Congress of the United States from voting for that sole reason?



Mrs. GEORGE. No, sir; I said there would be four good arguments against—

Mr. MOSS. (Interposing.) Prohibition?

Mrs. GEORGE. Against Congress treating prohibition as a Federal question.

Mr. MOSS. You think that is an argument against it because the State votes against it?

Mrs. GEORGE. Not an argument against the merits of the question, but an argument against the introduction into Congress of the consideration of a subject which is well within, or should be well within, from my point of view, the jurisdiction of the State to determine. They would be four new arguments.

Mr. MOSS. But if they voted for it, it would be an argument for Federal jurisdiction?

Mrs. GEORGE. They would be four new arguments for woman's suffrage; certainly.

Mr. MOSS. For Federal jurisdiction?

Mrs. GEORGE. No; not for Federal jurisdiction; they would be four arguments for the proponents of the measure on its own value. But on the question of State rights I stand firm to the belief that those who are seeking to use the Federal Constitution as a means for constant agitation of questions on which there should not be party alignment fall somewhat short of patriotism. I stand very firm in my construction of the right of the State to determine certain questions which are moral and certain questions which are political; but I say that those people who came last year come this year with no new arguments on the merits of the question and we do come with new arguments on the merits of the question; and any argument which affects, as we think, the merits of the question, it seems to us, also affects the reasonableness of the consideration by this body of a question which should not be here anyway.

Now, I know that sounds contradictory, and I think the whole thing is contradictory, for I think neither the suffragists nor anti-suffragists have any place in this Congress. [Applause.] Mrs. Belmont promised you, however, they were going to be here and "torment" the men; the head of the Congressional Union said it was their purpose to come here and torment the Members of Congress, and they have made a pretty fair beginning, it seems to me.

Now if there is one thing the suffragists insist on, it is that they will not have a referendum of the women. We had one in Massachusetts 20 years ago and suffragists declare that it put their cause back 20 years; so they opposed the referendum to the women 3 years ago and they did not want the referendum 2 years ago when referendum measures were before the legislature. We were in favor of the bill. But "No," the suffragists said, "let the men vote on this question; we want the vote of the men on this question." Well, they got it. [Laughter.] In the whole history of the vote in my own State, in Massachusetts, we never had such a vote for any man or measure as we had on the antisuffrage side of this woman's suffrage question. I am not going to trouble you with the details; the hour is late and you have been very patient; but I have here the official analysis of the vote in Massachusetts.

The CHAIRMAN. You may put that into the record, Madam.

*Vote of Massachusetts, by congressional districts, on the woman suffrage amendment, Nov. 2, 1915.*

Congressional district.	Yes.	No.	Majority.
1.....	10,348	19,285	8,939
2.....	10,069	18,545	8,476
3.....	8,358	19,419	11,061
4.....	9,983	19,094	9,111
5.....	10,688	17,219	6,531
6.....	10,164	20,031	9,867
7.....	10,030	18,424	8,394
8.....	11,369	20,104	8,735
9.....	12,561	17,921	5,360
10.....	5,968	11,544	5,576
11.....	11,068	18,402	7,334
12.....	11,582	19,160	7,578
13.....	12,283	23,142	10,859
14.....	12,497	21,254	8,757
15.....	7,593	15,853	8,270
16.....	7,943	16,542	8,599
Total.....	162,502	295,939	133,447

Mrs. GEORGE. I shall be obliged to you. But I want to say, in passing, that just two towns out of all the 353 cities and towns in Massachusetts went for woman suffrage. One was the town where we have a State pauper asylum, which went for suffrage by a majority of one. [Laughter.] I am wondering what the lady who spoke this morning would do with that. Another was a little town where there were 44 votes against woman suffrage and 47 for. But the total majority against woman suffrage in Massachusetts was 133,447. And remember, please, this woman who spoke to you said that the result in New York was largely due to the vote of paupers and ignorant foreigners. She must have thought that there was a very sharp line drawn territorially between New York and Massachusetts, because it happens that in Massachusetts we have not an electorate uniform with that of New York; in Massachusetts paupers can not vote and in Massachusetts illiterates can not vote. We are one of the few States that have an educational test for voters. It happens, too, if you will read this report in detail, that every community of Massachusetts where there is a college for men or where there is a college for women has given nearly a two to one vote against the question, with the exception of the seat of Harvard University, which gave a vote of more than two to one against woman suffrage. [Applause.]

So, you see, the paupers and ignorant foreigners had no very large part to play in the decision of the vote in Massachusetts. Neither did they in reality have any part to play in the decision of the vote in New York State, in spite of what the president of the New York State Suffrage Association says. The antisuffragists went out of Greater New York with a majority of 81,000 and the increase to 195,000 majority came from upstate; and we have not yet heard that "the paupers and ignorant foreigners" controlled the upstate vote of New York. It was a fair election; the vote was taken after a very active and somewhat hectic campaign on the part of both parties, and we had a straight count and we found—and I think many of the suffragists are fair enough to say we found—that the majority of the men and the women of the State have yet to be educated up to accept a belief in these wonderful things woman suffrage is promised to provide.

Mr. TAGGART. I beg your pardon, but may I ask a question, Mr. Chairman?

Mrs. GEORGE. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAGGART. Would you be quite as much impressed with a majority for woman's suffrage? If you were out in Kansas or in one of those Western States and they had voted for it, it would impress you quite as deeply as their voting against it where you come from, would it not?

Mrs. GEORGE. If you managed to get the very largest vote on the suffrage question that you had ever gotten out on any question submitted to the people and if in that election you managed to get, as we did in Massachusetts, 91 per cent of the electorate to vote on the question, and if you could show, in round numbers, a vote of 296,000 against the measure—no; for the measure, in this supposed case—of course; I have to turn it around because you wanted to know how a majority would impress me if it was for the measure—a vote of 296,000 for the measure as against a vote of 162,000 against the measure, I should say Kansas had gone a long way on the wrong road. I understand that out in Kansas you are ready to try any political experiment once, aren't you? [Laughter.]

Mr. TAGGART. And make a success of it.

Mrs. GEORGE. Well, we are quite willing that Kansas should work out some of the political experiments.

Mr. TAGGART. You know, of course, that Kansas is the eldest daughter of Massachusetts?

Mrs. GEORGE. I know she is.

Mr. TAGGART. And you know who is the mother of our ideals?

Mrs. GEORGE. I know who is the mother of your ideals, but I know, too, that the mother does not want to work out some of the experiments which the daughter can work out under far more favorable conditions than we have in our great industrial State.

Mr. TAGGART. Would it not be the order of nature that the daughter should make progress beyond that of the mother? [Laughter.]

Mrs. GEORGE. Not always. I have heard of daughters who did not measure up to the mother's standards, alas. If they always did measure up to the mother's standards, if they always led the way, then we would have civilization going forward on a perfectly sure and steady road, without any deterrents. I think, however, the analogy may be pressed a little too far.

Mr. MOSS. Madame, you wish to be logical about this, don't you?

Mrs. GEORGE. I try to; but they say a woman never can be logical.

Mr. MOSS. You think you can be, do you not?

Mrs. GEORGE. No; I do not flatter myself.

Mr. MOSS. Well, you will at least attempt to be?

Mrs. GEORGE. I will attempt to answer the gentleman's question, Mr. Chairman, if it is not an inspired one.

Mr. MOSS. Oh, not at all. I have no inspiration at all. I am sorry I do not.

Will you please state why it is (and I mean to be perfectly courteous, madam; I am not attempting to be discourteous to you) that you contend that the majority against suffrage in your State and others is an argument before this committee against its action, while a majority for suffrage and the absolute existence of suffrage in 9 States, I believe—in 12 States—

Mrs. GEORGE. Excuse me. I object to that.

Mr. Moss (continuing). Are not for suffrage?

Mrs. GEORGE. Mr. Chairman, may I ask a question of procedure?

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly, Madam.

Mrs. GEORGE. Is it the custom of this committee to have its members instructed from those who occupy the floor of the committee room? [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. I suppose the member has to instruct himself and he wants to get it from any source he can.

Mrs. GEORGE. Thank you; I just wanted to know the method of procedure.

Mr. Moss. Mr. Chairman, I think I may say something. I think we all want to be fair about this. The members who are opposed to suffrage certainly all asked questions of those ladies who were on the stand this morning in regard to their position, and I think I have certainly been as courteous as the gentlemen who propounded those questions, and I do not see any objection to asking this question if it is a perfectly polite question.

The CHAIRMAN. The lady's last suggestion was that you were being prompted by some suffragist near you, I think, Judge Moss.

Mr. Moss. If I was I did not hear it. I did not hear a word from anybody near me, not a word uttered, Madam.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Chairman, did not the lady answer the very question quite fully in answer to Mr. Taggart?

Mrs. GEORGE. I endeavored to, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you through, Madam? If not, proceed.

Mrs. GEORGE. No, I am not through; if the gentleman has finished.

Mr. Moss. I have not finished. You decline to answer the question then?

Mrs. GEORGE. I do not decline; I merely asked the chairman a question that I might be wise as to methods of procedure. Of course, it is your privilege to ask a question and it is my obligation to answer it to the best of my ability, and I shall do so.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Moss, you will please propound the question and allow the lady to answer it as she may.

Mr. Moss. Very well. I am asking you if the majority against suffrage in New York State and others is an argument before this committee against suffrage, then the majorities for suffrage in other States and the actual existence of suffrage in 12 States is logically an argument for suffrage, is it not?

Mrs. GEORGE. I said that the defeat of woman suffrage in four States formed four new arguments, while the suffragists had no new arguments because they have made no gains. I think that the fact that woman suffrage exists in certain States is a formidable piece of evidence; I think the fact that woman suffrage has been defeated in great States, very populous States, such as the four recent defeats and the defeats of 1914, are very strong arguments against the pushing into those same States of a Federal amendment. I hope I make myself clear; if I do not, I will endeavor to further, with the chairman's permission.

Mr. Moss. I understand your position, Madam.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any further questions? If not, you may proceed, Madam.

Mrs. GEORGE. We are living in serious times. You have here groups of women coming to ask you to act upon a question which was

acted upon by the Sixty-third Congress. They know they have not the strength for their work, for their propaganda, in the Sixty-fourth Congress which they had in the Sixty-third, and yet they have constituted themselves a new kind of hyphenated Americans; they are suffrage-Americans. [Laughter.] They place suffrage first. Great questions of preparedness, the tariff, and of international relationship are before you, and you men are, in many instances, laying down your partisan policies in order that you may protect this country of ours. But along come these women and say, "The first thing we demand is just that thing we want; not the thing that may be best for the country." I will submit here, Mr. Chairman, the resolutions of our national body as a contrast to the declarations of our suffrage-Americans.

Whereas the Congressional Union and the National Woman Suffrage Association have become active before the President of the United States and both Houses of Congress in the support of the proposed Federal amendment to enfranchise the women of this county; and

Whereas the President of the United States and the dominant party in Congress have expressed directly and officially their determination not to permit woman suffrage to be made a question for constitutional action; and

Whereas the suffragists must know that their efforts are thoroughly futile, and are making use of the Government for purposes of self-advertising and for exploiting their propaganda; and

Whereas a prominent suffrage leader has expressed the purpose of the suffragists to be "to torment Congress," which is being done, during a session which is called upon to solve the greatest national and international problems that have confronted the United States since the Civil War; and

Whereas the Congressional Union convention has passed resolutions declaring that "the enfranchisement of women is more important than revenue, commerce, national defense, or international relations": Therefore be it

*Resolved* by the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage assembled in annual convention that this organization deprecates and condemns the lack of patriotism exhibited by the suffragists in uselessly annoying the President of the United States and Congress in making a sham fight which is a scandal and a reflection upon the intelligence of American womanhood; and be it further

*Resolved*, That this organization regrets that it is compelled, by the aforementioned unpatriotic conduct of suffragists to take up any time whatever of the President of the United States or of congressional committees, and that this organization would engage in no political activity in Washington during this session of Congress but for its conviction that it is the duty of this organization to keep the public informed regarding the reluctance of the large majority of American women to have the ballot thrust upon them and to contradict with facts and incontrovertible proof the misleading statements so often put out by the suffragists; and be it further

*Resolved*, That copies of these resolutions be forwarded to the President of the United States, the Vice President of the United States, and the Speaker of the House.

No one would be so mad as to say that you could enfranchise a great body of voters and not go through a long process of education of those voters, but the suffragists declare, "We want the suffrage; therefore we will have it." This is the only argument for suffrage that can not be met. Some women think they want the suffrage and they intend that they shall get it; they want it. These women who have appeared before you this afternoon went out before the country with a blanket boycott in 1914 covering the entire Democratic Party. They sent out into your State (I speak to the gentleman from Kansas), where, as you well know, women vote, where they have full suffrage, and said, "We will defeat every Democratic candidate." Perhaps you ought to be grateful to those women, for in every State where that boycott was operative the Democratic Party made gains, and the Democratic Party made no such gains, relatively speaking,

in any State where the boycott of the Congressional Union was not at work. But they did come out with the boycott in 1914, and now they seem to have a notion that a boycott is the proper method of political procedure, and they come to the committee and say, "We have 4,000,000 voters and we are going to use those 4,000,000 voters as a club and you are going to give us what we want or we will know the reason why."

In the first place they have not 4,000,000 voters (don't be afraid of them) in all the woman-suffrage States. Don't get panicky when you hear a threat of 4,000,000 "inflammable" votes. When they say they have 4,000,000 women voters go to your census and you will find that, although given Illinois for good measure—Illinois where, through a most undemocratic procedure partial suffrage was given to the women over the will of the people who had refused to sign the proposition to submit the question of full suffrage to the voters—there are only 3,600,000 women of voting age, and that includes all the women who could not vote because of the naturalization laws, the Chinese women, all the negro and Indian women, and it includes all women of foreign birth, many of whom have not been naturalized.

They may threaten you with that boycott, but they will not deliver the goods any more than they did in that boycott of 1914; because with all the endeavor they have made, the woman suffragists (and to their credit be it said, many of them have not desired so to do), the women suffragists have never yet been able to organize a woman's party. When the day comes in this country of ours that a woman's party is organized, when the day comes that the victory of women in this country of ours is a political victory wrested at the polls from reluctant men, then our country has lost something that all the votes of all the men and the women in it can never restore. [Applause.] But you can not get the woman's party.

Mrs. Belmont has promised us a women's civilization. She said we had had a man's civilization, and she declared that it had been a failure. Now, we are going to have a woman's civilization, and it is going to come to us via the Congressional Union which addressed you this afternoon. They may threaten you with 4,000,000 voters, but you gentlemen who come from suffrage States know that the woman's vote divides up just about as the man's vote—is not that true?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mrs. George—

Mrs. GEORGE. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I want to get your views on one question, the question I raised awhile ago, which was the controlling question in my mind.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Williams, will you excuse me for a moment? We have news from the House that a very important vote is about to be taken and there is an urgent call and we must go immediately. Mrs. George, what would you propose that we should do; we may not be able to get back again this afternoon?

Mr. WILLIAMS. May I conclude my question so that she may answer it when the committee comes back?

Mrs. DODGE. What is your pleasure? I see no reason why you should not go immediately, as we have most finished, anyway, and why not stop the hearing now?

The CHAIRMAN. How much longer would you expect to take?

Mrs. DODGE. We would not detain you more than five minutes longer.

The CHAIRMAN. If you can conclude in five minutes, then we might stop here and you may extend your remarks in the record so as to have them complete.

Mrs. GEORGE. That will be perfectly satisfactory, if you will allow that. There are only one or two points which I wished to touch on, but if I can do that, it is perfectly satisfactory. You see, we are here under protest to ourselves; we did not want to appear here, but the other side was coming and so we had to come in protest.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Williams wants to ask his question so as to have it in the record, and you may answer it as best you can. Proceed, Mr. Williams.

Mr. WILLIAMS. It is the question of uniform suffrage which I have already raised; that was the controlling reason which prompted my vote.

Mrs. GEORGE. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Now I know there is a limited class of people, such as paupers, attainted persons, and convicts, that are excluded in the ballot in most of the States—it is rather uniform as to that. But here is a great half of our citizenship, the women of the land, denied that right except in certain States, which destroys the uniformity of the vote, because in one State they may vote and in another they can not; and that is a troublesome question to my mind upon which I would like to have your views.

Mrs. GEORGE. The first question is, what shall we accept as our standard? [Laughter.]

If we are to have a standard qualification for voters—a uniformity in the electorate—shall we accept the standard of a minority or a majority of the States? Shall Nevada dictate to New York or California, with its Asiatic problem unsolved, control Alabama's regulation of its electorate? Uniformity of the electorate may be desirable, but its attainment is blocked by the established and zealously-guarded right of the individual State to determine the qualification of its electorate. Meanwhile representation is uniform—based on population, not on the number of voters.

The following is a graphic illustration of the relative population of man-suffrage and double-suffrage States:

You were told this morning of the great affirmative vote for suffrage. I am reminded of the story of my old friend the late Senator George Frisbie Hoar. He was walking through a graveyard with a friend and saw a tombstone with the sentiment engraved thereon, "I still live"—"Look at that," said Mr. Hoar, "the poor fellow down there doesn't know he is dead." If you review the figures in the document and ask to place on file, you may make the application of the story. I thank you.

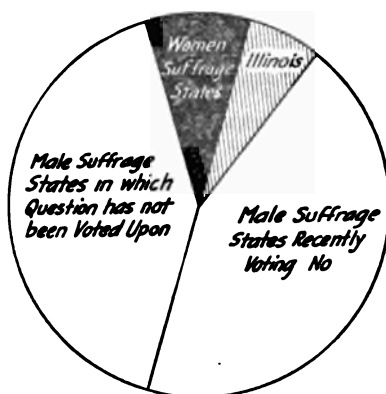
## CAMPAIGN STATES.

New York.....	9, 113, 614
Pennsylvania.....	7, 665, 111
Massachusetts.....	3, 336, 414
New Jersey.....	2, 537, 167
	<hr/> 22, 652, 306

## DOUBLE SUFFRAGE STATES.

Kansas.....	1, 690, 949
Colorado.....	799, 024
Montana.....	376, 053
Wyoming.....	145, 965
Utah.....	373, 351
Arizona.....	204, 354
Idaho.....	325, 594
Nevada.....	81, 875
Washington.....	1, 141, 990
Oregon.....	672, 765
California.....	2, 377, 549
Illinois (partial).....	5, 638, 591
	<hr/> 13, 828, 060

## POPULATION DIAGRAM



## DEFEATS AND FAILURES OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

Woman suffrage is not a popular measure with the men and women of the United States. On spasmodic waves of Mormonism, Populism, Insurgency, and Socialism it has been adopted by 11 States with a total population of 8,189,495.

After watching the experiment and record of woman suffrage in these States it has been defeated in the last three years (since 1912) in the legislatures of 18 States, with a population of over 30,000,000 people—Alabama, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Indiana, Maine, Minnesota, Maryland, North Carolina, New Hampshire, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Texas, Vermont, and Virginia.

Michigan, Wisconsin, Nebraska, and North Dakota have also defeated the suffrage proposition in their legislatures after the test at the polls proved an overwhelming majority against it.

Since 1912 woman suffrage amendments have been defeated by popular vote 13 times and by 11 States. Michigan and Ohio put the measure twice before their electorates, and it was defeated in each case by a much larger majority the second time. In 1912 the majority against woman suffrage in Michigan was only 760 votes. The suffragists were jubilant, and felt it would not be difficult to overcome this small opposition. It was resubmitted to the people in 1913, and defeated by a majority of over 96,000. In 1912 the suffragists polled 247,375 votes in favor of the amendment. In 1913 they only received 168,738.

Ohio defeated the amendment in 1912 by a majority of 87,455, and in 1914 by a majority of 182,905.

In both States the increased opposition was due to the fact that not only the anti-suffragists, men and women, were better organized, but that the conservative element was aroused to the danger that lurks in woman suffrage and took the trouble to vote to defeat it.



## PENNSYLVANIA POPULAR VOTE.

In Pennsylvania woman suffrage was defeated by 55,686 majority on a very light vote. Eighty-six thousand men in the city of Philadelphia alone, who voted for mayor, did not vote at all on the amendment.

The suffragists have been organized in Pennsylvania over 60 years, and the Socialists are also well organized through the State and worked hard for the amendment. The suffragists may be said to have registered their full strength, about 14 per cent of the voters of the State.

The majority of the easy-going optimistic antisuffragists, as in Michigan and Ohio the first time, failed to register their protest.

In Pennsylvania the antisuffragists won the majority of the counties and the vote in the State, outside of Philadelphia, shows 10,414 majority against suffrage. The total State majority against is greater than the total majorities of any two States adopting woman suffrage.

## DRY STATES AND COUNTIES "ANTI."

The "dry" counties, like Huntingdon and Bedford, in spite of thorough organization and vicious attacks on antisuffrage workers in these counties by the suffrage leaders, the rural districts, the industrial centers not dominated by Socialists, and the two big cities, gave a majority against woman suffrage. Only one dry State has adopted woman suffrage—Kansas. North Dakota, prohibition for over 25 years, defeated woman suffrage at the polls in 1914, and six other "dry" States have defeated it in their legislatures.

The only two States to adopt woman suffrage since 1912 have been Montana and Nevada. The two "wettest" States in the Union, the two States with the smallest percentage of women to men and with the smallest proportion of married men.

## MORMONS STRONG SUPPORTERS OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

Ex-Senator Frank G. Cannon, of Utah, says the Mormon Church is intrenched in 11 States, the exact 11 States where women vote. In a recent interview Mr. Cannon said that 232 Mormon priests had plural wives in 1910. The Mormons want woman suffrage for the simple reason the more wives they have the more votes they control. Polygamy is one form of Feminism.

## PRESIDENTIAL SUFFRAGE.

Suffragists are fond of threatening legislators by telling them women will be able to dictate the choice of the next President because of their 11 suffrage States and Illinois. On the same principle the Mormons will be able to dictate who shall be the next President of the United States, because Mormonism, says ex-Senator Cannon, is in control of these 11 woman suffrage States. This threat of defeating candidates the suffragists have never been able to carry out. The men blacklisted in Massachusetts by the suffragists were all elected and the efforts of Mrs. Belmont and her Congressional Union to organize women of the Western States as a party have been utterly unsuccessful.

The facts are these: Representation under double suffrage is exactly the same as under male suffrage, both in the electoral college and in Congress, as the total population and not the voters is the unit of representation. A State counts women and children, because it considers they should be represented by the men of the State; therefore a State with woman suffrage can elect no more representatives or presidential electors, nor send more delegates to a national convention than a male suffrage State.

Second, it has been proven that the majority of women in the Western States do not want to vote, and only vote because they feel compelled to do so, and they will not vote as the suffragists tell them.

## WOMEN IN SUFFRAGE STATES.

Mrs. Frederick H. Colburn, press chairman of the San Francisco District of the Federation of Women's Clubs, and a well-known lecturer, says: "I am convinced that 80 per cent of the women of the State do not want suffrage. The suffragists prove that themselves by keeping up the agitation here. I vote because, as it was forced upon us, I feel we should use it, and because my husband as'ed me to at the last election, but if we had a referendum I would vote against suffrage based on actual experience. You have only to consider the position of women before and since equal

suffrage. Women do not begin to have the same status in law as they had before they had the franchise, and this they must expect."

In all woman suffrage States it has been proven that the men elected to offices would have been elected without the votes of the women, because women, for the most part, vote as their husbands do, and the only thing double suffrage has done has been to increase taxes, add to the burden of government, weaken the electorate, injure the women and increase the Socialist vote and influence. Woman suffrage has not succeeded in passing as good legislation for women and children as has been passed in male suffrage States. Woman suffrage has not solved the liquor question, nor succeeded in forming a woman's party to defeat candidates who are opposed to woman suffrage.

A New York newspaper, strongly opposing woman suffrage, says it has trebled its circulation in Pennsylvania since adopting this editorial policy.

#### STATE, NOT NATIONAL ISSUE.

It is because suffragists know that the majority of the people, especially of the women, are against double suffrage, that they have determined to force it through a congressional amendment. Even the Shafroth amendment, which was to allow State referendum, they have repudiated, because they realize that they can not win a well-informed electorate, now that the antisuffrage women are active. Their desire is to abolish forever the right of the State to regulate its suffrage, so that even should votes for women prove a disgrace and a drawback to this Nation, or to any individual State, on account of local conditions, it would be almost impossible to repeal it.

This is unjust, undemocratic, unpatriotic, and un-American. Suffrage is a State, not a Federal issue, and by putting this question to the legislatures and before the people, the several States of the Union are on record as opposed to the Federal amendment, and hold that as conditions in different States are different, so the decision in this matter should be left to the voters in each individual State.

*Woman suffrage has been defeated by popular vote.*

State.	Year.	Majority against.
Ohio.....	1912	87,455
Ohio.....	1914	182,905
Michigan.....	1912	760
Michigan.....	1913	96,144
Wisconsin.....	1912	91,478
Nebraska.....	1914	10,104
Missouri.....	1914	140,706
North Dakota.....	1914	9,401
South Dakota.....	1914	11,914
New Jersey.....	1915	51,273
New York.....	1915	195,000
Massachusetts.....	1915	133,447
Pennsylvania.....	1915	55,686

The population of these eleven male suffrage States is over four times that of the eleven woman suffrage States.

Woman suffrage is going, not coming.

#### (Statement of J. H. Adrians:)

No student familiar with the history of the United States will question that the Colonies, before the formation of the Union or the States thereafter, prescribed tests of citizenship within the Colony or State, and that a person possessing the requisite State qualifications was, by reason of that fact solely, a citizen of the Nation in which the State was a component part. Familiar illustrations of this are the residence, tax, criminal, and educational tests common to practically every State in the Union. From 1776 to 1868 every State had the unquestioned right to prescribe tests of franchise within its border, as well for State as national elections. An elector of the State was, for that reason, accepted as an elector of the Nation. The latter during this period never asserted a right to transfer this power from the State to the Federal Government. The Declaration of Independence (July 4, 1776) did not hint at such withdrawal of power from the States and its lodgement with the Federal Government.

The articles of Confederation (July 9, 1778) will be scanned in vain for any such abstraction of power from the States. The ordinance of 1787 (July 13) is silent on that subject. The Constitution (Mar. 4, 1789) in its distribution of powers to the executive, legislative, and judicial departments makes no provision for transferring this power from the State to the Nation. Article I, section 2, contrarily provides:

"The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature."

In other words, any elector qualified to vote for a candidate for the most numerous branch of the State legislature was competent to vote for a Representative in Congress or a President at a national election. In the enumeration of 25 powers granted to Congress by the Constitution, prescribed in section 8 of Article I thereof, with the 11 limitations in the exercise of such powers specified in section 9 of Article I, no mention is made of the power to prescribe tests of franchise by the Federal Government. All powers not granted were reserved by the States. So that very little, if any, doubt can be entertained that up to March 4, 1789, any test of franchise, such as is before the court in the amendment of 1910 to the Oklahoma constitution, prescribed by a State, even if it applied to a national election, would be within its reserved power, obedience to which would not justify the indictment of its citizens in the Federal court. Even after the proclamation of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments the Federal courts have conceded (*McKay v. Campbell*, 1 Sawyer, 374; *U. S. v. Anthony*, 5 Chicago Legal News, 462) that the States were shorn of the powers theretofore possessed by them of creating tests of franchise only to the extent that such tests conflicted with the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments.

*(Statement of Dr. Mary E. Walker, PROCLAMATION:)*

The United States Constitution is "the citadel of our liberties," and supports of magnificent superstructure—the "solid grounds equal justice, policy, general utility."

Holding the Star-Spangled Banner, that is surmounted with the dove of peace, with the power vested in me as the president of the Woman's United States Constitution Association I here and now, in Washington, D. C., on the fifth day of January, 1916, proclaim that the women of these United States "are, and of right ought to be," the equals of men politically, and go in a body to the polls on next November and cast their ballot for the presidential electors and all State officers, not only as a right but a duty to assist in the election of the best persons in the choice of a republican government.

I further proclaim that the women of New Jersey and Maryland voted for the members of the legislatures of their States prior to the ratification of the United States Constitution, and that every one of the 13 States ratified the United States Constitution, with both sexes voting with the same qualifications for such voting, and that in Article IV, section 2, of the United States Constitution it clearly states that all rights and immunities is the property of all States, and this same foundation of this Government guarantees a republican form of government to every State; Article IV, section 4, "and that if any State passes an act that is in conflict with the Constitution of the United States, clearly and forcibly pronounces such act null and void, and every State that has placed male in its constitution has made the word null and void, which simply means the same as though it had never been placed there, as it is in conflict with the principles of a government of equality of rights, not only but clearly states the fact in the United States Constitution.

The registry laws are as clearly null and void if used to preclude woman from the preliminary to voting, and any registrar who refuses women to register should be taken before a judge and so charged, and if such judge does not put a mandamus on such failure to allow registration, then on election day swear in the vote, stating the prevention of registration.

In Article IX "the enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage other rights retained by the people." And franchise of women as well as man was retained by the people of New Jersey until illegally by null and void acts in 1844.

The President of the United States is sworn, or affirmed, to protect and defend the Constitution of the United States, and when the petticoat brigade went to have him recommend to Congress the passage of an amendment for women to be voters he gave them such an answer that they will never ask again. He is too good a lawyer not to know that women have always had the franchise from the United States Constitution; and no such brigade will ever annoy the President on a tautology measure.

Some of said petticoat brigade went in a body to the House of Representatives and demanded an entrance to the body of the House to exploit a Constitution scheme in women voting, but they were met with such a rebuff that they were angered, and will not again attempt such a silly move, as the Sue Anthony amendment, to be passed

by the constitutional lawyers of the grand United States Congress, the Senators and Members of which will never pass an unnecessary amendment, which is ignorant autology.

At the meeting of the suffrage association in Washington on December last, I was the oldest suffragist in the cause, but there was a concerted action among the Shaw clique to prevent women knowing what the crowning constitution argument is, and at a full meeting of the delegates, Anna Shaw said, "it was hoped that the disturbing element at this meeting would take itself away," meaning that the argument in question would not be heard, and although a large number of delegates desired to hear the same, the Shaw woman insisted on remaining president of the association until its close, although Mrs. Catt was elected president. This move was for the purpose of still squashing the constitution argument, which she succeeded in doing until the College Women's Association had a banquet, at which I was wearing the badge of the order, as I had been all through the meetings, and I gave enough of the argument in a clear voice that made the Southern delegates and many of the Middle West States and the Eastern States thoroughly disgusted with the action of the Shaw woman in preventing any light upon the woman question being suppressed, and about 150 printed papers showing up the real situation was given out to such delegates, who took them home to their clubs.

Below is given a part of such paper:

SINCE 1871 TRICKS HAVE BEEN PLAYED AGAINST THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION BY ASKING AN AMENDMENT, AND JUSTICE TO SISTER WOMEN DEMANDS THAT THEY NOW BE INFORMED REGARDING THE DECEPTION PRACTICED ON THEM TO KEEP THEM IN IGNORANCE FOR THE PURPOSE OF GRAFT.

Before 1871 it was not believed women were citizens and there was talk about amending the United States Constitution to make women citizens, but the crowning constitution argument proved that they were such, or they could not have been voting.

The following is part of a speech in Albany, N. Y., before a committee of the Constitutional Convention, August 23, 1915:

The Constitution of the United States that guarantees a republican form of government to every State, and declares any law passed by any State to be null and void if in conflict with the United States Constitution, and the word male in State constitution is null and void, since in Article IV, section 2, the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens of several States, and as the women in New Jersey and Maryland were voting before the United States Constitution was thought of, and continued to vote in New Jersey until 1844, and as all the 13 States ratified the United States Constitution, with the women voting, it holds good to-day that they are citizens and legal voters, and if the States do not declare the word male null and void, the women will take their right, by going to the polls next fall and exercising legal rights.

It is a painful duty I owe to the committee to relate the tricks of a few women to keep other women in ignorance of the crowning constitution argument, "The evil women do lives after them."

After the writing of the crowning constitution argument (by request of the author), a thousand copies of the United States Constitution were published and delivered to all Members of Congress. (See Senate Records, Forty-second Congress, 1871.)

Senator Sumner and Chief Justice Chase had stated what has been given you in the crowning constitution argument, and the Women Suffrage Association had met in Lincoln Hall, Washington, D. C., and Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony led a fight against such argument, by setting a policeman to stand at the door of the anteroom of said hall, while they labored with him to have him forcibly prevent the author of the argument from going on the platform, where she always spoke and was a mover of getting up the franchise meetings, and was first vice president when Lucretia Mott was president at the first large meeting in Washington, and had given that argument at a previous session. This was in 1871.

The policeman refused to do so. Printed copies of the argument were given to the audience after my speech in the day session and this clique well knew that women would give them no more money, to come and plead for an unnecessary and tautology "amendment" if they knew what the argument was.

At Columbia Theater, on F Street, Washington, D. C., in 1898, one of the sessions of Women's Franchise Association was entirely abandoned because of the insistence of both men and women to hear that argument, and the women who gave copies of the argument away, were ordered to stop the same or leave the building while clique women at the time were giving away amendment literature.

In 1901 Miss Anthony and Miss Shaw, while at a meeting of suffragists at Oswego, N. Y., were insistent upon squashing a knowledge of the crowning constitution argument, and some woman took a dollar to them to make the author of the argument a member, so that they could hear said argument, when called for, it was refused her, although Miss Anthony had urged all women to pay a dollar and join the association, but they gave the dollar back and said Miss Anthony directed it to be given back to Dr. Mary Walker, thus preventing women from hearing the argument.

At Albany, N. Y., in 1911, the chairman of the judiciary committee of the assembly had made an appointment that the author should be heard the same day that he had given the Anna Shaw crowd permission also to be heard.

Rev. Anna Shaw presided over the speakers, and after calling upon every one who would respond, the chairman called on myself, and before I had uttered a dozen words, by concerted action, Anna Shaw arose, and with others, left the room in such confusion that the chairman appointed another day for me to speak; and a written letter is held by myself stating that "when New York had full franchise it would be through a bill that I have written," and not by amendment of State constitution, that the Shaw faction was clamoring for. A short time before the hearing Anna Shaw sent a messenger to me asking me "not to speak, as it would spoil everything they were trying to do in getting an amendment to the State constitution."

In my absence, while working in the suffrage cause in Illinois, this Shaw faction were in Albany, and new members not understanding this subject were persuaded to accede to their wishes in their asking for an amendment to be voted upon in 1915, and New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and New Jersey were wheedled into such passage by the legislatures of such States, not knowing that such enabling act for men to vote upon the voting right of one part of the Republic was transcending their jurisdiction, since no part of a Republic has a right to vote for or against the voting rights of another part, since in a Republic there must be equal rights.

At Washington after the chairman of the Senate committee had publicly announced that "I would speak at the next hearing," when the Shaw faction came with a crowd, they spoke and purposely used up all the time, by Anna Shaw's management, thus preventing the crowning constitution argument being heard, as the greater part of the audience expected it would be.

It is believed that if I had given that argument then that there would have been no report from the Senate Woman's Franchise Committee. But this argument has not laid dormant since its writing in 1871, for the governors of every State have had this argument sent to them, and thus the idea of the sacredness of the United States Constitution has been promoted with literature sent to different parts of the country, with speeches. The few women's actions have been an excuse for men who desire to delay the restoring of the rights of woman's franchise. I do not say "give," although they well know that the great law of justice would prevail, and because of this argument 12 States have woman suffrage; as the Members of Congress were intelligent on the subject of the United States legislatures to remove the word male from the Constitution, which was done in their own way of procedure. But it was null and void, without removal.

In New York City on three occasions this fall Shaw thwarted my giving the United States Constitution facts to prevent graft, and hasten women's votes.

At the hearing December 15, 1915, in the Capitol, she managed to use up all the time so that I was prevented from giving facts that show that we are entitled to vote now, and have been ever since the United States Constitution was ratified.

Two years since, when the Shaw faction prevented my giving my argument as the chairman of the Woman Suffrage Committee of the Senate had appointed, my speech was printed the last one in the report, but after numbers of the report had been given out the Shaw woman wheedled an extra number of pages to be added that gave the association to which she belonged to be the last page, with her name prominent. "But there surely is some power that rightly suffers wrong."

Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase and Senator Charles Sumner told the author personally that "they were surprised that a woman's brain had seen the United States Constitution in its true light regarding women, as no jurist had seen it, and that it opened the door through which all women would walk and vote."

#### EXPLANATION.

As my argument was written in 1871, some people are astonished that an amendment to the United States Constitution has been introduced in every Congress since that time, and argued by certain women who knew the truth of the same; but to keep the masses of women from a knowledge of this argument, because they could not get

money from them if they knew that franchise rights were theirs through the United States Constitution, is shown above.

At the last appearance of Anna Shaw, which was at the Poli's Theater, a brief time since, after the close of her function, Dr. Mary began to talk about the United States Constitution, and the Shaw woman put up both hands and "shooed" the people away.

#### MANDAMUS.

The following is to instruct women regarding methods to obtain constitutional rights:

In Bouvier's Law Dictionary, Rawlers Revision, 1914, volume 2, page 2078, paragraph 2, on second column, near its center.

When a clear legal right to a writ is shown, the court has no discretion about granting a mandamus.

Mode of proceeding is to first demand, and inform the party of the purpose.

If refused, it should be absolute; but it may be by silence only.

Parties should be made to understand that on a refusal, that legal redress will be resorted to without delay.

Affidavits should be presented at the time of the application for a mandamus.

#### CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES SUPREME LAW OF THE LAND.

It guarantees a republican form of government. Article IV, section 4.

Courts, legislatures, nor time itself can deprive citizens of the rights guaranteed by the United States Constitution.

Franchise is property that can not be taken away. Law protects this property; call it tangible or intangible.

Rights of individuals were not to be disturbed, and the United States Constitution did not take away any of the existing rights at the time of its adoption.

The intent of the law of the United States Constitution is clearly found in itself.

The enumeration of other rights can not impair those not enumerated.

It is despotism without control, for a part of the republic to prevent another part from the enjoyment of the property of the ballot.

No State has any judicial power to legislate power to a part of the Republic to legislate a power away from others, or to give franchise power to any citizens, since citizenship has its own power.

It was 11 years after New Jersey women began to vote before the United States Constitution was ratified, and they voted extensively; and both men and women who were worth £50 voted.

#### NEW JERSEY STATUTES.

Laws of 1790 provides that no person shall vote, except in the township wherein *he or she* resides.

Laws of 1797 provide that all free inhabitants shall be entitled to vote.

DR. MARY.

#### TELEGRAM OF CAROLINE PATTERSON, PRESIDENT GEORGIA ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

MACON, GA., January 3, 1916.

The Hon. E. WEBB,  
Judiciary Committee, House of Representatives,  
Washington, D. C.

The Georgia association, opposed to suffrage for women, hereby protest against the sweeping assertion made before your committee that southern women want or need the ballot. We believe that it has done nothing to recommend itself where tried, although some good has been accomplished. In such communities in spite of its pernicious influence and that the power of women as women is far greater than as partisans, the race question will always be a serious one in our section and any new laws will precipitate disaster to our people.



# WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

## SERIAL II, PART 3.

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COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
*Washington, D. C., Tuesday, February 1, 1916.*

The Committee on the Judiciary met at 10.30 o'clock a. m., Hon. Edwin Y. Webb (chairman), presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. Gentlemen, we have met this morning for the purpose of hearing from Franklin Carter and one or two other gentlemen who are opposed to woman suffrage. Mr. Franklin Carter.

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Carter, state your name, address, and whom you represent.

Mr. CARTER. My full name is Franklin Carter, jr. I am secretary of the Man Suffrage Association, with headquarters at 27 William Street, New York City.

The CHAIRMAN. How much time do you want, Mr. Carter?

Mr. CARTER. I think I can get through in a half an hour, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well, we will hear you for half an hour.

Mr. CARTER. Thank you.

### STATEMENT OF MR. FRANKLIN CARTER, JR., SECRETARY OF THE MAN-SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION, NEW YORK CITY, N. Y.

Mr. CARTER. It is not always a pleasant duty, gentlemen, to oppose the demands of women. It is a particularly delicate question to oppose an individual woman, but it is, to us, as we view it, a moral duty to oppose this demand of votes for women.

We do it on the basis of our moral duty; not moral in the sense of immorality, which has been raised, but in the broad moral sense, and in the sense that we believe is good for womankind, for womanhood, for the State, and for the country.

We are also opposed to the enfranchisement of women for economic reasons and for constitutional and political reasons.

First, let us look at its effect upon women. During the campaigns that have just taken place in the Eastern States it has had the effect of drawing into the streets a large number of women and girls, some of them not entirely of mature age. It has had the effect of bringing them into questionable and close contact with varied kinds of people in the streets. It has had the tendency to detract from the qualities which we feel that are truly feminine and for which we reverence womankind.



In so far as it affects women in this way it is undermining the influences of the home, upon which our Nation, States, and cities depend.

If we glance over the records—and we must base some of our claims upon the facts, as we see them where suffrage has been tried—we naturally again recur to the State of Colorado, with her 23 years of suffrage for women. Before the general war depression the bonds of Colorado were depreciated. The loan of 1912 found no takers. Public confidence was lacking. The government was inefficient.

Collier's Weekly, an advocate of woman suffrage, in May, 1914, said that the trouble in Colorado comes from an absolute failure of government there.

The average State tax for 1912, according to the assessed valuation of property for 1860–1912, published by the Census Bureau, was a little over \$40 per \$1,000. In looking over the tabulation of attached rates in the various States, we find that in the suffrage States it is almost invariably above the rates in the other States.

Mr. GARD. How do you associate your quotation from Collier's Weekly in regard to the collapse of the government in Colorado with the facts that women have suffrage there?

Mr. CARTER. That is very difficult to show directly, but that is the fact. The basis of the argument is that, although women have claimed they would better conditions, the influence of women has apparently never been able to cope with your superior physical force which is elemental in government, and which belongs to men.

Mr. NELSON. Might the argument not be that but for woman suffrage in Colorado conditions might be worse there?

Mr. CARTER. I hardly think that is possible, sir.

Mr. GARD. How large a proportion of the women have voted up to the time you mention, in Colorado?

Mr. CARTER. I can not give you the statistics. In regard to conditions in Colorado, it has been testified that the red-light district is used by the party in power, and the women are called on not merely to vote, but to repeat. Women in Colorado have absolutely failed to show that woman suffrage has accomplished its purpose. The Ladies Home Journal of April 1, 1911, gave a list of Colorado women, among them many prominent citizens of Colorado, who testified as to the failure of woman suffrage.

Mr. CARLIN. Do you contend that women have failed to exercise their right of suffrage, or is it that they have used it in the wrong direction?

Mr. CARTER. They have failed to take the proper interest in civic affairs. The effect of woman suffrage has not been to bring out the fact that women are truly interested politically in bettering conditions.

Mr. GARD. Has there been any movement to return to strictly manhood suffrage in Colorado?

Mr. CARTER. I think there has, yes. I have had reports to that effect. I do not know whether they are authentic or not. But the citizens have a feeling that the time will come when woman suffrage will be repealed in Colorado.

Mr. STEELE. Is it not a fact that men are likewise responsible for the condition which exists, just as well as women are?

Mr. CARTER. It is unquestionably true that men are guilty of negligence in many cases, but the basis of the argument is not the purpose of condemning or criticizing women, but to show that, upon the basis of government, with their aspirations and their ideals and all the noble motives which women have and which they bring to us, they do not enforce the law and do not appreciably assist or effectively assist in carrying out the mandates of the law.

In Colorado we had a very serious condition of affairs, in which the Federal troops had to be called in. The reply of the suffragists to this statement is that other States have had similar industrial conditions in which the appearance of troops was necessary. It is true, however, that the troops are all men troops. And, of course, we would all rue the day when we should have women Federal troops.

Mr. CARLIN. You do not think there is any disposition to organize an army of that sort?

Mr. CARTER. No.

Mr. NELSON. I suppose if you spoke as a married man you would be afraid of women troops?

Mr. CARTER. I happen to be a married man.

For the purpose of getting into the record the tax rate in 1912——

The CHAIRMAN. That may go in.

Mr. DANFORTH. How long has Colorado had suffrage?

Mr. CARTER. Twenty-three years.

Mr. DANFORTH. Have the laws of Colorado in the 23 years then have had woman suffrage there improved the conditions of women in that State?

Mr. CARTER. Replies to inquiries do not seem to indicate that conditions have been improved. We do not claim that is necessarily due to the fact that they have woman suffrage there or that it is due to any overt act on the part of women. We do claim suffrage has not assisted in the betterment of conditions. It has not improved them in any way.

Mr. GARD. Have they a minimum wage for women in Colorado?

Mr. CARTER. I believe they have.

Mr. WILLIAMS. What were those dates you mentioned in which the tax rates are given?

Mr. CARTER. 1860 to 1912.

Mr. WILLIAMS. In what States?

Mr. CARTER. In Idaho, Colorado, Utah, Montana, Arizona, Washington, Nevada, California, Oregon, Wyoming, and Kansas.

Mr. WILLIAMS. What is the tax rate?

Mr. CARTER. In Idaho the tax rate is given as \$4.15 per \$100, or \$41.50 per \$1,000.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the State tax?

Mr. CARTER. The average State tax.

The CHAIRMAN. That doesn't include any municipal taxes?

Mr. CARTER. That is the average of all the taxes.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you know what the State tax is, independently of municipal taxes?

Mr. CARTER. No.

Mr. THOMAS. That must be wrong. It must be \$40 per \$1,000.

Mr. CARTER. I thought I said \$4.15 per \$100 and \$41.50 per \$1,000.

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is in what State?

Mr. CARTER. Idaho.

Mr. WILLIAMS. What year?

Mr. CARTER. That is taken from the rates assessed from 1860 to 1912.

Mr. GARD. 1860 to 1912?

Mr. CARTER. Yes. That is the average tax rate for 1912, taken from the book which contains the average rates for those years.

Mr. NELSON. What is that quoted from?

Mr. CARTER. From statistics as prepared by myself from the Census records.

Mr. CARLIN. What is the rate of interest on borrowed money in Idaho?

Mr. CARTER. I do not know.

Mr. GARD. What is the public debt in Idaho for 1912?

Mr. CARTER. I do not know.

Mr. GARD. This would not be of especial value, this mere bald statement of the rate.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Do you know whether it is assessed upon the full value or upon the assessed value as fixed by the assessors?

Mr. CARTER. My impression is that it is the full value.

Mr. WILLIAMS. What we want is something more than an impression. We want the facts. What are the facts?

Mr. CARTER. I do not know that. I merely took these statistics as the basis for comparison.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Are not all those new States?

Mr. CARTER. This list of States?

Mr. WILLIAMS. What is the list of States? Give it to us, please.

Mr. CARTER. This list of States?

Mr. WILLIAMS. What is the list of States? Give it to us, please.

Mr. CARTER. Idaho, Colorado, Utah, Montana, Arizona, Washington, Nevada, California, Oregon, Wyoming, and Kansas.

Mr. WILLIAMS. What is the basis in California? What is the rate there?

Mr. CARTER. In California it is \$2.15 per \$100, or \$21.50 per \$1,000.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Isn't it true that the tax is higher in all new States than in the older States, without regard to the question of suffrage?

Mr. CARTER. I think it is in some instances.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Isn't that true generally?

Mr. CARTER. I am not familiar enough with that to say.

Mr. DANFORTH. May I interrupt?

Mr. CARTER. Yes.

Mr. NELSON. You mean in the East that it brought women into the streets where such untoward conditions prevailed?

Mr. CARTER. I mean that in the campaign which they have been carrying on, they have spoken on street corners, stood on street corners, and solicited subscriptions for their campaign in New York State. I know that in going from my office to the station I often met as many as ten or more at different points, who would solicit subscriptions and ask for assistance in the suffrage propaganda.

Mr. GARD. Have you any experience on what is popularly known as "tag day," when women solicited subscriptions and assistance for purely charitable purposes?

Mr. CARTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. GARD. Did you see anything immoral in that procedure, Mr. Carter?

Mr. CARTER. No, but I have seen instances where it has been grossly overdone.

Mr. GARD. That may be, too.

Mr. CARTER. And I can not feel that in every instance it has been especially beneficial to the children who have been engaged in it, although the motive is highly ideal.

Mr. GARD. Supposing the women were out soliciting subscriptions for the purpose of the establishment of a playground for children. These women would collect money for the establishment of playgrounds for children who would otherwise have to go out into the streets for their recreation, if they had any. Don't you think it is all right for them to do that?

Mr. CARTER. I think the motive is highly good.

Mr. GARD. Is not the end good also.

Mr. CARTER. The end is good if it is accomplished, but the question of influence upon the character of the people who solicit the subscriptions upon the streets may be a very grave question. It is a grave question, this influence upon the children.

Mr. NELSON. You would not like to have the women remain at home in their parlors and drink tea and keep away from things and out of touch and contact with humanity?

Mr. CARTER. Not at all, sir. I feel there are conditions which render things very different, but feel that in a State like New York, or in a city like New York City, it is very unwise to allow women to go out into the streets under such conditions to talk and solicit subscriptions. There may be places where that will do very well, but I do not think New York City is one of them?

Mr. MORGAN. You mean it is not safe for women to speak there in the streets to business men and others. Do you not think it is the business of women just as much as it is the business of men to see that these conditions are improved? As a matter of fact, isn't it the business of men exclusively to see that the conditions are so improved as to make it safe for women to speak on the streets?

Mr. CARTER. I do; yes. I am not excusing the men for failing to improve conditions. Nor do I find fault with the women for their motives, for their noble purpose in going out and soliciting subscriptions for playgrounds and charitable institutions. I think the purpose is ideal.

Mr. NELSON. I have a niece who has graduated from a State university, who specialized in sociology, and who in New York City is engaged in the work of improving the conditions of the poor, bringing aid and assistance for charitable institutions. She has come in contact all the time and does come in contact all the time with the lower classes—if it may please you for me to use that term. Do you think she is in any danger? What experience have you had with conditions outside of New York City?

Mr. CARTER. Well, sir, I have had some experience in California, and have seen a little of conditions out there. I have also seen conditions in Chicago; I have seen conditions in Arizona; I have seen conditions in North Carolina; I have seen conditions in Florida; I have seen conditions in South Carolina, in Maryland, in New Hampshire, in Maine, in Massachusetts, in Connecticut,

and in northern New York, and in New York City, and humanity is much the same.

Mr. NELSON. Now, your position is this, if I follow you: You say there are certain conditions in New York City, which are very bad. Are you in favor of those conditions remaining as they are?

Mr. CARTER. No, certainly not; but as long as human nature remains as it is, I see no way of eliminating them.

Mr. NELSON. Your idea is to keep women entirely away from the contaminating influence of mankind?

Mr. CARTER. Not without some reservation.

Mr. NELSON. I want to get an idea of what sphere of activity you want to place women in.

Mr. CARTER. It is not a question of their sphere of activity. The idea is not to get no assistance from them, but is against compelling them, from a sense of duty, to take a part in the political activities of men, which will subject them to these dangers.

Mr. NELSON. Have you ever seen an instance where conditions were improved when women entered into the affairs of men?

Mr. CARTER. Yes, sir; a good many.

Mr. NELSON. Just name an instance.

Mr. CARTER. I think almost every one of the great charities and every one of the great——

Mr. NELSON (interposing). Name one specific instance.

Mr. CARTER. The Red Cross.

Mr. NELSON. The women have hurt by their work in the Red Cross, is that what you say?

Mr. CARTER. I say "helped."

Mr. NELSON. I said "hurt."

Mr. CARTER. I thought you said "helped."

Mr. NELSON. Well, now, I will ask you if you have ever seen or known of an instance—of an institution, for example—where women have hurt conditions by entering into the affair? They have always been helpful, as far as I have seen. Now, has it ever been your experience that they have been harmful?

Mr. CARTER. I do not profess a particular knowledge of the conditions of society which forms the red light district; but I have seen such collections of humanity in London, in Paris, and in New York City. It is a very difficult thing to take a woman on any such ground as that, but those collections of women are more or less organized and are certainly a baneful influence in society.

Mr. NELSON. You assume that they will come in?

Mr. CARTER. I assume that they are a part of humanity; yes.

Mr. NELSON. Is that the only thing you are fearful of, that that kind of woman will get in?

Mr. CARTER. That is not the only element. That is only one element.

Mr. NELSON. Doesn't it take in every man just as well as every woman?

Mr. CARTER. Yes.

Mr. NELSON. And don't you think that if that is a ground for excluding women from the vote that men ought to be excluded also?

Mr. CARTER. I am not prepared to pass upon the men's electorate.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Don't you think the women have helped the cause of temperance?

Mr. CARTER. Individual women have helped the cause of temperance; yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Don't you know that women have voted in Illinois to put the saloons out of business in nine-tenths of Illinois territory? Don't you know that women's votes did that?

Mr. CARTER. I was not aware of that.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Are you not aware that local option has swept the saloons out of Illinois, practically?

Mr. CARTER. I was aware of the fact that they had local option there and that it had produced a material effect in Illinois.

Mr. WILLIAMS. And that has been done since women had the right to vote in the State of Illinois, too.

Mr. CARTER. That may be.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Only in two instances in the State of Illinois where woman's vote has not been largely in favor of temperance, and it is largely the women's vote which has put the saloon out of business in that State. There were only two instances in which women's vote was against it.

Mr. CARTER. I think there would be some instances like that all over the country, where women's vote might be a benefit, but with the preponderating evidence I can not see that the basis of government, the principles upon which our country was founded and for which our fathers fought, bled, and died, that power which requires physical force in the protection of life, liberty, and property, of homes of men and of women and children, can be benefited by the votes of women.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Having furnished the necessary majority of votes to put the saloons in Illinois out of business, and to put the saloons out of business in hundreds of places outside of Illinois, would you say that they have not accomplished much through getting the ballot and through their use of the ballot?

Mr. CARTER. I should say if they had done so, they had accomplished something.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Now, won't they be found on the right side of every question, just as they are found on the right side of the temperance question?

Mr. CARTER. They will be found on both sides of every question, if you please, sir.

Mr. WILLIAMS. That has not been so in Illinois. There were only two instances in the State of Illinois where the woman's vote was against prohibition.

Mr. THOMAS. Out in the State of Kentucky we have 12 counties in which there is local option, and in 10 counties there is not a saloon anywhere, and that has been accomplished without the aid of women's vote in Kentucky.

The CHAIRMAN. According to the press reports, out in California prohibition was defeated by the women's votes, and defeated overwhelmingly. I think that is also true in South Dakota.

Mr. DANFORTH. Yes.

Mr. VOLSTEAD. They don't vote in South Dakota.

The CHAIRMAN. Don't they?

Mr. VOLSTEAD. No; they don't vote there.

Mr. NELSON. The reason why prohibition failed in California was because that is a wine-producing State. That is a great industry out there. They defeated prohibition in order to protect their industry.

The CHAIRMAN. A charge has been made that women in San Francisco went to the polls from the underworld, and that the respectable women of the city didn't go at all.

Mr. VOLSTEAD. How about Washington and Oregon? They voted it down out there.

Mr. MORGAN. Is it not a fact, Mr. Carter, that the organized liquor interests of the country are against woman suffrage?

Mr. CARTER. Why, so far as I can gather from my experience in New York State during the recent campaign I find no evidence that the liquor interests have assisted us in the campaign in any way, shape, or form.

Mr. VOLSTEAD. Didn't the liquor interests in your State pass a resolution against woman suffrage?

Mr. VOLSTEAD. Wasn't that in New York?

Mr. CARTER. No, sir.

Mr. VOLSTEAD. I thought it was in New York. It was in some northeastern State.

Mr. MORGAN. Isn't it a fact that the so-called liquor interests, manufacturing, wholesale and retail, generally, are opposed to woman suffrage? Do you mean to say that you have no knowledge of that fact?

Mr. CARTER. I have no knowledge of it. I have heard rumors that in States where woman suffrage has been beaten that the liquor interests were back of us, but, to my knowledge during the campaign in New York State we have received absolutely no financial assistance or any other assistance, so far as I know, from the liquor interests.

Mr. MORGAN. Do you know of a single large manufacturer of beer that has helped the woman suffrage cause?

Mr. CARTER. I am not familiar with that. I have no accusations to make.

Mr. MORGAN. I have heard the charge, and I wondered if you knew.

Mr. CARTER. I don't know. It seemed to me that the charge was utterly false, and that it was very ill-founded and unjust, the charge that we had back of us the liquor interests.

The CHAIRMAN. There was a man by the name of Taylor who wrote an article not long ago, which I read, and in which it was stated that in a parade which your people were interested in, or in which you were represented, a detachment of women from the Woman's Christian Temperance Union was not allowed to carry their banner in the parade. They came up with their banner but were told that they could not parade with their banner. It was charged that the liquor interests made them take the banner out of the parade. It is Mr. Taylor who makes the charge, and he seems to be quite an intelligent writer, and gives the circumstances of the case, the time, and place, and the names of people connected with it. He further states in connection with the subject of women suffrage—and he gives figures to support his contention—that the divorce rate in woman suffrage States is much higher than in purely manhood suffrage States.

Mr. CARTER. I have some figures on that, but the United States Census divorce statistics are not very satisfactory. I do not mean they are unsatisfactory in the sense that they are not in favor of our side of the case, but in the sense that they are not uniform. They are not necessarily an argument in favor of woman suffrage, or against it.

as the basis upon which these statistics have been obtained lays them open to serious question as a basis of argument for either side.

I should like to put on the record the following divorce statistics, which present some conclusive evidence.

## EXHIBIT H.

## DIVORCE AND SUFFRAGE.

Statistics compiled by Miss Minnie Bronson, formerly special agent of the United States Department of Labor.]

## Divorces per 100,000:

Washington.....	184
Montana.....	167
Colorado.....	158
Indiana.....	142
Arkansas <sup>1</sup> .....	136
Oregon.....	134
Texas <sup>1</sup> .....	131
Oklahoma <sup>1</sup> .....	122
Idaho.....	120
Arizona.....	119
Wyoming.....	118
Maine.....	117

## Divorces per 100,000—Continued.

Indian Territory.....	113
New Hampshire.....	112
Nevada <sup>2</sup> .....	111
Kansas.....	109
California.....	108
Rhode Island.....	105
Michigan.....	104
Missouri.....	103
Illinois.....	100
South Dakota.....	95
Iowa.....	93
Utah <sup>3</sup> .....	92

But it is obviously unfair to base the percentage of divorce upon the whole population, for in the Western States there has been a great influx of unmarried men and women. A fairer basis is to rank the States on the number of divorces in every 100,000 of the married population, and the following table gives this:

## Divorces per 100,000 married population:

Washington.....	513
Montana.....	497
Colorado.....	409
Arkansas.....	399
Texas.....	391
Oregon.....	368
Wyoming.....	361
Indiana.....	355
Idaho.....	347
Oklahoma.....	346
Arizona.....	344
Indian Territory.....	326

## Divorce per 100,000 married population—Continued.

Nevada.....	315
California.....	297
Kansas.....	286
Maine.....	282
Missouri.....	281
Rhode Island.....	281
Utah.....	274
New Hampshire.....	272
South Dakota.....	270
North Dakota.....	268
Illinois.....	267

It will be seen that the Woman Suffrage States are not behind in these records.

I would like to place in the record the statistics that have been obtained in regard to prohibition States.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

Mr. CARLIN. Have you the rate of taxation for Kansas?

Mr. CARTER. Yes.

Mr. CARLIN. What is that?

Mr. CARTER. It is \$1.02 per \$100, or \$10.20 per \$1,000.

Mr. CARLIN. You say it is \$1.02 per \$100, or \$10.20 per \$1,000?

Mr. CARTER. Yes. The rate in Kansas is low, and the census bulletin states that it shows a reduction because of the change in the method of assessment. I have not been able to get it exactly. That is, I have not been able to ascertain exactly what change was made.

<sup>1</sup>Arkansas, Texas, and Oklahoma owe nearly three-fourths of the divorces in those States to negro population, according to the census reports. The negro population runs from 20 per cent in Oklahoma to 26.7 per cent in Texas, but the divorces form 53.7 per cent of all divorces granted.

<sup>2</sup>Divorce States. Divorce could be obtained in both these States by a residence of six months.

<sup>3</sup>Mormon State, three-fourths of the population in which divorce is practically prohibited by the church.



The CHAIRMAN. They got prohibition out there in Kansas long before women began to vote out there, did they not?

Mr. CARTER. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Have they, as a matter of fact, ever gotten prohibition in Kansas?

Mr. TAGGART. Oh, yes; they have prohibition out there. We have prohibition.

The CHAIRMAN. Down in North Carolina there are 95 per cent of the women who do not want to vote. They are perfectly satisfied with the moral progress men have made for them.

Mr. CARTER. Where is that?

The CHAIRMAN. North Carolina.

Mr. VOLSTEAD. Is there any liquor down there?

The CHAIRMAN. No; you can not buy any there and you can not import any. You can not import a pint into North Carolina.

Mr. NELSON. What is the old proverb? What did the governor of North Carolina say to the governor of South Carolina? [Laughter.]

Mr. WILLIAMS. He said, "It is a long time between drinks."

Mr. TAGGART. Mr. Carter, are you presenting those figures for the purpose of exciting us or getting us worried about increased taxation?

Mr. CARTER. No.

Mr. TAGGART. Don't worry. Of all the States in the Union, the one best able to pay taxes has woman suffrage. Women have voted just once in Kansas, and I do not know that the rate has been raised since they voted, but they are getting along very well and working along just splendidly. Sometimes they worry about Brooklyn, but it is only a passing whim.

Mr. WILLIAMS. About what?

Mr. TAGGART. About Brooklyn. They have heard of Brooklyn.

Mr. CARTER. A similar instance of a congested community, showing the ineffectiveness of women's votes to better conditions is found in San Francisco. According to the New Republic for May 1, 1915. at the election in November, 1914, the San Francisco vote showed that State prohibition, the eight-hour law, the abatement of houses of prostitution, and the abolition of prize fighting were all defeated by big majorities. Although some of those things obtain in California, the congested communities come under the influence of the political machine, and apparently were against those betterments.

Mr. VOLSTEAD. Wasn't that due largely to the exigencies of a world's fair. Wouldn't it be fair to take that into consideration?

Mr. CARTER. It may be so.

Mr. VOLSTEAD. I have known saloons to stay open all night and Sundays on occasions of that kind.

Mr. CARTER. That was in 1914?

Mr. VOLSTEAD. In 1914; yes.

Mr. CARTER. In the campaign in New York State there have been various kinds of documents circulated by the suffragists. I should like to read a few statements from some of them and show the sex antagonism and show the lack of study of the laws which they exhibit in these documents. They apparently have no conception of the spirit of the laws as carried out by men.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well, you may put them in. Read them right into the record.

Mr. CARTER. These statements appeared on a suffrage handbill entitled "Special privileges of men in New York State":

Men have the right to vote—a right that is worth all other rights and privileges put together, inasmuch as it is the safeguard of all liberty and rights. Women have not that right.

Gentlemen, the right to vote is a penalized responsibility. Men have this right as the natural result of their organization of the government for the protection of life, liberty, and property; for the protection of their homes, their wives, and their children; for the protection of women as well as men.

They claim that men have the privilege of controlling the expenditure of the taxes they pay, and women have not.

Mr. VOLSTEAD. Do you mean to say that the right to vote is a natural right? You seem to make that contention for men. How are you going to argue that it is a natural right for men and an unnatural right for women?

Mr. CARTER. I do not mean to say that, but, as a matter of course from the organization of the Government, it naturally devolved upon men to carry out the mandates of society.

Mr. VOLSTEAD. As long as the Government rested on force, as it did originally, that naturally was the situation.

Mr. CARTER. You gentlemen will notice that the statement which I have read claimed that men have the privilege of controlling the expenditure of taxes which they pay, while women have not. In New York State a woman may vote in towns to raise money by taxation; she is entitled to vote on the incorporation of a town when she has owned property on the last assessment roll; her property rights in the State are the same as a man's; her civil rights in regard to property are the same.

Mr. NELSON. Having the right to vote on these things, if you extended the right to vote, why would that be harmful and injurious?

Mr. CARTER. We feel it is unnatural and harmful.

Mr. DANFORTH. Why is it do dangerous to let her rights be extended?

Mr. CARTER. It is dangerous to extend her rights because you are subjecting her to decisions and responsibilities of government and the enforcement of the law for which physically she is inferior and incapable.

Mr. VOLSTEAD. Do you suppose they admit that?

Mr. CARTER. I do not suppose so; no, sir.

Mr. GARD. Do you favor woman suffrage for school control?

Mr. CARTER. That is also permissible in New York State. Women may vote there in school matters.

Mr. GARD. Do you favor that; does your organization?

Mr. CARTER. That is a question that is beyond our control now. That has not come up for discussion. We accept that as an existing condition.

Mr. GARD. Do you favor that?

Mr. CARTER. We can not help that. It is a matter of existing conditions which we have to face.

Mr. GARD. Having the power to vote in school matters, what would be the objection to her voting upon other questions?

Mr. CARTER. The point is that in voting upon school questions the women are not called upon to exercise physical force in the enforcement of law and order. It is a question of discretion in the bringing up and training of their own children.

Mr. TAGGART. Well, there is the police force. Women would not necessarily have to go on the police force any more than a small man would go on the police force. Have you any criticism to make of the enforcement of law by the police force or do you want every man to be a policeman?

Mr. CARTER. I am not here to find fault with the conditions which exist.

Mr. TAGGART. You are ready to allow any male to come to the polls and vote who is over 21 years of age regardless of his physical qualifications and then allow him to depend upon the more able-bodied men to enforce the laws and fight the battles?

Mr. CARTER. I do not feel, sir, that I am here for the purpose of criticising the conditions that exist or for the purpose of passing judgment upon the male electorate as it exists.

Mr. VOLSTEAD. Do you think any great harm has been done in New York because women have voted on school matters?

Mr. CARTER. No, sir; I do not think they have done any harm in voting on school matters.

Mr. VOLSTEAD. Supposing they were permitted to vote in the city or municipality upon municipal affairs, could any great harm come from that? Where do you draw the line?

Mr. CARTER. The objection we would make would be the basis of force—physical force.

Mr. VOLSTEAD. Is it not absolutely foolish to use that old argument? Excuse me, Mr. Carter. I do not intend any offense. The point is, we employ soldiers and policemen to use force. Voting does not require force, but honesty, intelligence, judgment, and patriotism. All who possess these qualifications and have interests to protect may properly ask leave to vote. Is it not a fact that women suffer as much as the men in every war? Why should they be denied a voice in voting on the question of war?

Mr. CARTER. Yes; but it hardly seems to me that the women, as a sex, can judge when the men are able to defend themselves.

Mr. VOLSTEAD. But you are going to allow the men to determine that the women are in a proper condition to suffer?

Mr. CARTER. All the exigencies which would demand war would involve a consideration of womankind, for whom man is ready to pay his life.

The CHAIRMAN. This gentleman has told the committee that he had some facts which he would like to get into the record. I do not object to you gentlemen asking him questions, but he has now consumed considerably more time than he was allowed. This has been largely on account of the questions that have been asked him. If the gentlemen have no further questions, we will let Mr. Carter proceed to give us his facts.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Can he not put those facts in at any time, Mr. Chairman, by inserting them in the record?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; he can put them in any time, anywhere. He has that privilege.

**Mr. CARTER.** There were various other statements that were circulated by a prosuffrage association in New York, some of which I shall insert in the record.

The suffragists claimed that men are practically exempt from for the social evil, that "under the execution of the law the woman is considered the only culprit—men go free."

This is false. New York has an injunction and abatement act and a white slave law, and the law applies to both men and women with equal intent. It is commonly recognized that women are often treated with greater leniency in the courts.

They have claimed that men are eligible to all civil-service examinations while women are not, but inquiries from the secretary of the State or city civil-service commissions would tell them that there are many positions for which women alone are eligible, not only because of their sex, but because of their peculiar aptitude.

They have distorted the domestic relations law and the decedent estate law in their publications without an understanding or knowledge of them.

The laws of New York favor and protect women, and the intent and actual workings of the courts show an endeavor to care for the interests of women and children.

They would rue the day when they obtained "equal rights" with men, to find that these safeguards which have grown from a progressive civilization would be foregone with the advent of these so-called equal rights.

It is this unjust attack upon the work of the men who believe in womanhood and have earnestly striven for the best interests that has aroused a sentiment against the spirit of the feminist. It is from this spirit of antagonism to law and order that the women of our State as well as the men would like to be free.

**Mr. CARTER.** One of the objections which we have to the passage of any bill looking to the enfranchisement of women is that, while no good, as we see it, will be established, the expenses of elections will be approximately doubled by having woman suffrage.

**Mr. DANFORTH.** Is there any objection made now to the expenses of elections? Isn't it generally the practice throughout the country to spend all the money we can get hold of at election time?

**Mr. CARTER.** I suppose so, but, at the same time it is well to consider that point.

**Mr. DANFORTH.** The people do not consider the cost—the expense of elections—as long as the people are enabled to give expression to their views at the polls.

**Mr. CARTER.** I merely give that as an item that enters into the total.

**Mr. DANFORTH.** The expense in connection with elections seems to be objectionable. Nothing, however, has been suggested heretofore in regard to men's voting—that it was inadvisable to allow men to vote because of the expense incurred.

**Mr. CARTER.** I quote from a statement from the Los Angeles Times, which was quoted in the New York Times of October 12, 1915, in which it was said:

California adopted woman suffrage in 1911. For the fiscal year ended June 30, 1911, the State expenditures were \$18,691,877. For the fiscal year ended June 30, 1915, they were \$36,529,993. A part of this increase was accounted for by highway bonds. According to the Los Angeles Times, at least \$10,000,000 is political plunder. In 1911 the direct taxes for county purposes were \$31,188,120. For the fiscal year ended June 30, 1914, they were \$42,293,021. The cost of county government in California is about five times the average cost of county government in other American States.

Comparative figures compiled by the United States Census Bureau show that the per capita tax paid by a Californian for county government in one year would pay his county government tax in Vermont for 241 years \* \* \*.

Twenty-five new departments and commissions, costing some \$2,500,000 a year have been established. \* \* \* Ten million dollars of increased State taxes; \$11,000,000 of increased county taxes.

Mr. NELSON. You say that it would increase the expense of elections?

Mr. CARTER. That was one item.

Mr. NELSON. You were speaking of the increase of expenses in elections, and now you read this article from the Los Angeles Times to show the increase in the taxes. What particular bearing has that article upon your proposition? How do you connect the one with the other?

Mr. CARTER. You mean this item from the Los Angeles Times about the increase in the taxes out there?

Mr. NELSON. Yes. I would like to know what bearing that has upon your former proposition that there was an increase in the cost of elections through allowing women to vote. Is that newspaper article in support of that particular contention?

Mr. CARTER. Oh, no. That is a new item. I bring that out for the purpose of showing one of the results of woman suffrage. It has been tried out there in California and the result has been, as you see by this article, to raise the tax rate to an exceedingly high point. That is one item to be considered, a part of the total.

Mr. VOLSTEAD. Don't you think that statements as to the large increase in taxes should be based upon something more reliable than mere newspaper talk?

Mr. CARTER. I think it is credible.

Mr. VOLSTEAD. I think it would be worth while to have figures of that kind substantiated. You find almost anything in newspaper articles. I think we ought to know whether there is any truth in them.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Carter, didn't you have some more detailed figures to put in in regard to the tax rates in the suffrage States?

Mr. CARTER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You may put that in.

Mr. CARTER. All right.

*Tax rates of suffrage States for 1912.*

[From Table 5, on page 41, in "Assessed Valuation and Amounts and Rates of Levy for 1860-1912, Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1915. Average tax rates for 1912.]

State.	Rate per \$100.	Rate per \$1,000. <sup>1</sup>	Suffrage obtained.
Idaho.....	\$4. 15	\$41. 50	1896
Colorado.....	4. 01	40. 10	1893
Utah.....	3. 26	32. 60	1896
Montana.....	3. 24	32. 40	1914
Arizona.....	3. 11	31. 10	1912
Washington.....	3. 10	31. 00	1910
Nevada.....	2. 25	22. 50	1914
California.....	2. 15	21. 50	1911
Oregon.....	1. 89	18. 90	1912
Wyoming.....	1. 44	14. 40	1869
Kansas.....	1. 02	10. 20	1912

<sup>1</sup> Ordinarily quoted.

On page 13 of this census volume it is stated that as in Oregon and Kansas the apparent reduction in the rate is due to a revision in the basis of assessment. In 1902 Kansas was \$4.09; Oregon, \$3.32; Wyoming, \$2.48 per \$100.

It will be found upon consulting the full tables that most of the woman suffrage States are conspicuously near the top of the list.

This shows that for 1912 the tax rate in the State of Idaho was \$4.15 per \$100, or \$41.50 per \$1,000. Woman suffrage was obtained in Idaho in 1896.

In Colorado the rate was \$4.01 per \$100 in 1912, or \$40.10 per \$1,000. Suffrage was obtained in Colorado in 1893.

In the State of Utah the average rate of taxes for the year 1912 was \$3.26 per \$100, or \$32.60 per \$1,000. Suffrage was obtained in Utah in 1896.

In Montana, in which suffrage was obtained in 1914, the average tax rate for 1912 was \$3.24 per \$100, or \$32.40 per \$1,000.

In the year 1912 the average tax rate in the State of Arizona was \$3.11 per \$100, or \$31.10 per \$1,000. Suffrage was obtained in the State of Arizona in 1912.

In the State of Washington, in which suffrage was obtained in the year 1910, the average tax rate for the year 1912 was \$3.10 per \$100, or \$31 per \$1,000.

Suffrage was obtained in the State of Nevada in 1914, and in that State the average tax rate for the year 1912 was \$2.25 per \$100, or \$22.50 per \$1,000.

In the State of California the average tax rate for the year 1912 was \$2.15 per \$100, or \$21.50 per \$1,000. Suffrage was obtained in California in 1911.

The State of Oregon, where suffrage went into effect in the year 1912, the average tax rate for the same year was \$1.89 per \$100, or \$18.90 per \$1,000.

In Wyoming the average tax rate for 1912 was \$1.44 per \$100, or \$14.40 per \$1,000. In Wyoming suffrage has been in effect since 1869.

In the State of Kansas the average tax rate for the year 1912 was \$1.02 per \$100, or \$10.20 per \$1,000. Suffrage was obtained in the State of Kansas in 1912.

On page 13 of this census volume it is stated that as in Oregon and Kansas the apparent reduction in the rate is due to a revision of the basis of the assessment. In 1902 Kansas was \$4.09. In the same year Oregon was \$3.32. In the State of Wyoming it was \$2.48 per \$100.

It will be found upon consulting the full table that most of the women-suffrage States are conspicuously near the top of the list.

Now, gentlemen, we appeal particularly to the right of the State to decide this matter. Let me read from the Constitution of the United States.

(Mr. Carter thereupon read art. 1, sec. 2.)

Mr. CARTER. That prescribes the manner in which the Representatives of the House of Representatives shall be chosen.

The constitutional amendment as to the election of Senators is that the Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State elected by the people thereof, for six years, and each Senator shall have one vote. That fixes the qualifications in the States. The provision of section 1, article 2, in regard to the election Presidents, does the same thing.

We say that, by reason of the amendments, the right to determine how elections shall be conducted is given to the States. We appeal to you, gentlemen, to let this right remain where it is, where it has always been, and where it properly belongs.

Mr. VOLSTEAD. It belongs wherever the American people put it. Do you think it is unconstitutional to amend the Federal Constitution so as to permit woman suffrage?

Mr. CARTER. In view of the fact that 11 States have defeated woman suffrage, and that in 17 additional States woman suffrage has lost in the legislatures, making a total of 28 States which are on record as against woman suffrage, it seems to me most expedient to leave it to the States to decide.

Mr. WHALEY. You stated a while ago that it was unconstitutional.

Mr. CARTER. No, sir; I merely quoted from the Constitution, in order to show how the power is in the States to determine how elections shall be conducted.

Mr. WHALEY. You didn't give any opinion as to whether you thought it was unconstitutional or not?

Mr. CARTER. I suppose that if Congress determines to put through the amendment it would be all right.

Mr. WHALEY. I meant at the present time. Do you think it is constitutional at the present time?

The CHAIRMAN. He meant not unconstitutional so far as the Federal Constitution is concerned for States to allow women to vote.

Mr. WHALEY. That is it.

Mr. CARTER. I presume there is no question but that Congress has the power to pass it. That is beyond my right to comment upon.

Mr. WHALEY. You think that Congress has a right to pass an amendment granting suffrage to women?

Mr. CARTER. I do not feel it has that right morally, but it has the right to put the question to the people of the various States for them to determine. It has the power to do that, if it so decides.

Mr. WHALEY. Are you a lawyer?

Mr. CARTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Don't you think that uniformity in suffrage would be important?

Mr. CARTER. I think uniformity in suffrage is a very complex question.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I mean this: Do you think that women should vote in one State and not vote in another State? The women of one State may vote for President and in another State they may not vote for President, but they may vote for certain other things. Do you think that this is desirable? Don't you think that all women should have the right to equal privileges in this matter—that all women should vote alike in the States?

Mr. CARTER. Under the present Constitution it seems to me that we could have it no other way.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Then suffrage by means of amendment to the Federal Constitution would be the only means by which you could have uniformity of suffrage, is not that true?

Mr. CARTER. Apparently; yes, sir.

Mr. NEELY. What do you mean by uniformity—some States have more qualifications than some others?

Mr. CARTER. Precisely.

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is a detail.

Mr. NEELY. Yes; but it is too big a detail. There are some States in which the negro is allowed to vote and in other States he is not allowed to vote.

Mr. CARTER. I do not know of any State that prohibits negroes from voting.

Mr. NELSON. What association do you represent?

Mr. CARTER. The Man Suffrage Association.

Mr. NELSON. Who is the chairman?

Mr. CARTER. Ezra P. Prentice.

Mr. NELSON. Were you active in the campaign in New York?

Mr. CARTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. NELSON. During the whole campaign.

Mr. CARTER. Yes, sir; during the whole campaign.

Mr. NELSON. What funds did you disburse?

Mr. CARTER. I had between six and seven thousand dollars.

Mr. NELSON. Six and seven?

Mr. CARTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. NELSON. Are you a paid official?

Mr. CARTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. NELSON. What is your salary?

Mr. CARTER. It has been \$100 a month.

Mr. NELSON. Are you devoting all your time to this work?

Mr. CARTER. I have been, during the campaign.

Mr. NELSON. You are not now?

Mr. CARTER. I am just at the present time, but I shall probably not do so long.

Mr. NELSON. Will your salary go right on? Is that your understanding?

Mr. CARTER. There is no understanding.

Mr. NELSON. Who has paid you this?

Mr. CARTER. The committee has paid me.

Mr. NELSON. Have you an arrangement with the committee by which you are to continue as secretary?

Mr. CARTER. There is no arrangement. No arrangements have been made. They are planning to do some reorganization work, and I do not know what will be done.

Mr. NELSON. How are your funds obtained?

Mr. CARTER. By subscription and by membership in the association.

Mr. NELSON. How old is your association?

Mr. CARTER. I can not tell you. I am sorry, but I am not sure about that.

Mr. DANFORTH. Is the Mr. Prentice who is chairman of this association the Mr. Prentice who was former State chairman of the Republican State committee?

Mr. CARTER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee has indulged you, Mr. Carter, for an hour. I am not criticizing you for that. I know a great deal of the time has been taken up by questions which have been put by members of the committee. There are some other gentlemen here who want to be heard.

Now, gentlemen, if you have any further questions to ask, the chairman would be glad if you got through with them, so that we can hear these other representatives from various associations who have come to say a word in regard to this matter.



Mr. Carter, if you have any further manuscripts or facts that you care to insert in the record you may do so, and you may revise what you have said if you desire.

Mr. CARTER. Thank you. I would like to revise my remarks.

I would like to make one or two more statements in regard to this matter in conclusion if you will be kind enough to indulge me.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well, proceed.

Mr. CARTER. I would like to give a few statistics in regard to woman suffrage in the several States, showing what States have woman suffrage, when adopted, the vote thereon, the majority vote, the census of the State at the nearest census date, showing the population.

The following States now have woman suffrage:

Adopted.	Vote.	Majority.	Date nearest census.	Population.
Wyoming, 1890.....			1870	9,118
Colorado, 1893.....	65,249	6,347	1890	419,198
Idaho, 1896.....	18,408	5,844	1890	101,772
Utah, 1896.....	41,306	19,931	1890	207,906
Washington, 1910:				
For.....	52,299	22,623	1910	1,141,990
Against.....	29,676			
California, 1911:				
For.....	125,037	3,587	1910	2,377,549
Against.....	121,450			
Oregon, 1912:				
For.....	61,265	4,161	1910	672,765
Against.....	57,104			
Arizona, 1912:				
For.....	13,442	7,240	1910	204,354
Against.....	6,202			
Kansas, 1912:				
For.....	175,246	16,049	1910	1,690,949
Against.....	159,197			
Nevada, 1914:				
For.....	10,936	3,678	1910	81,876
Against.....	7,268			
Montana, 1914:				
For.....	41,302	3,714	1910	376,053
Against.....	37,588			

The above figures were obtained from the secretaries of State of the various States and the United States census records.

Now, in regard to the rank in population, I want to give a little information on the woman suffrage States.

The ranking order of the woman suffrage States, according to population, is as follows:

State.	Population.	Rank.	Number to square mlie.	Obtained.
1. California.....	2,377,549	12	15.5	1911
2. Kansas.....	1,690,949	22	20.7	1912
3. Washington.....	1,141,990	30	17.1	1910
4. Colorado.....	799,024	32	7.7	1893
5. Oregon.....	672,765	35	7.0	1912
6. Montana.....	376,053	40	2.6	1914
7. Utah.....	373,351	41	4.5	1896
8. Idaho.....	325,594	45	3.9	1896
9. Arizona.....	204,354	46	1.8	1912
10. Wyoming.....	145,965	48	1.5	1899
11. Nevada.....	81,875	49	.7	1914

## PROHIBITION.

Suffragists have claimed that woman suffrage will bring prohibition, but the facts and figures disprove and upset any such idea.

Prohibition was adopted by the following States in the years given:

[Woman suffrage States in italics.]

Maine.....	1850	West Virginia.....	1912
<i>Kansas</i> .....	1880	<i>Virginia</i> .....	1914
North Dakota.....	1889	<i>Arizona</i> .....	1914
Georgia.....	1907	<i>Oregon</i> .....	1914
Oklahoma.....	1907	<i>Washington</i> .....	1914
Mississippi.....	1908	<i>Colorado</i> .....	1914
North Carolina.....	1908	Alabama.....	Jan. 14, 1915
Tennessee.....	1909	Arkansas.....	Feb. 6, 1915

The first 9 States above named were all man-adopted prohibition by the vote of the man alone. Of these States, *Kansas* became a suffrage State in 1912, but it had adopted prohibition 32 years before that event.

Of the 7 remaining States, 4 have woman suffrage and 3 have not. Prohibition, therefore, has been adopted in 12 States where men alone voted and in only 4 States where woman suffrage exists.

Colorado has had woman suffrage since 1893, but only adopted prohibition in 1914. It defeated prohibition in 1912 by upward of 40,000 majority.

California, which adopted woman suffrage in 1911, thereafter defeated prohibition by a tremendous majority.

Now, gentlemen, let me give you a brief statement as to how woman suffrage has fared in the several legislatures.

## WOMAN SUFFRAGE LOST IN THE LEGISLATURES.

1. Alabama: The suffrage amendment did not get out of committee, 1915.
2. Connecticut: Defeated in the house, 1915.
3. Delaware: March, 1915, defeated in the house and senate.
4. Florida: Defeated April, 1915.
5. Georgia: August, 1915, unfavorably reported from committee.
6. Illinois: Bill introduced for full suffrage, March, 1915; did not come to a vote.
7. Indiana: 1913, died in house committee.
8. Kentucky: "Several times defeated in the legislature."
9. Maine: 1915, defeated in the house.
10. Maryland: "Defeated by a large majority."
11. Michigan: 1915, resolution not reported from committee.
12. Minnesota: March, 1915, defeated in the senate.
13. New Hampshire: March, 1915, defeated by a large majority.
14. North Carolina: 1915, defeated nearly two to one.
15. Oklahoma: Indefinitely postponed in the senate.
16. Rhode Island: March, 1915, defeated in the house.
17. Texas: March 5, 1915.
18. Virginia: March 11, 1914, amendment rejected.
19. Vermont: February, 1915, failed to pass.
20. Wisconsin: Defeated in assembly April, 1915; senate July, 1915.

*Woman suffrage defeated at the polls.*

State.	Date.	Electorate.	Votes cast.	Majority against.
South Dakota <sup>1</sup>	1898	99,000	32,000	3,286
South Dakota	1914	178,189	91,124	11,914
Ohio	1912	1,484,265	586,295	87,455
Ohio	1914	1,600,000	853,685	182,905
Wisconsin	1912	683,743	350,000	91,479
Michigan <sup>1</sup>	1912		495,508	780
Michigan	1913	870,876	433,620	96,144
North Dakota	1914	173,890	89,557	9,139
Nebraska	1914	353,600	191,580	10,104
Missouri	1914	1,031,000	504,720	140,206
New Jersey	1915	501,802	317,672	51,108
Massachusetts	1915	628,859	458,317	133,087
Pennsylvania	1915		826,382	55,686
New York	1915		1,201,621	<sup>2</sup> 194,467
Total 11 States majority against, latest polls.				976,239

<sup>1</sup> The increased majorities against woman suffrage in the States where the vote has been taken twice is worthy of attention, and might well indicate a better knowledge of what it means in the neighboring woman suffrage States.

<sup>2</sup> This total includes the unofficial report from Oneida County of a majority of 6,154 against. The balance of the total is from the official returns.

It is interesting to note that New Jersey had woman suffrage from 1776 to 1907 (Historical Handbook of New Jersey, by M. C. Spaulding, pp. 46, 167, 191), but the right to vote was taken away from the women because of their abuse of it.

I have a compilation, made in December, 1915, of the total of polls in woman suffrage States. These totals include both men and women of all political parties.

*Totals of poll in woman suffrage States.*

[Totals are both men and women.]

State.	Year of vote.	Vote for—	Figures from Woman Suffrage. <sup>1</sup>	Page.	Figures from 1915 World Almanac.	Page.
1. Wyoming	1912	President	42,296	65	42,296	809
2. Colorado	1912	do	283,827	70	266,871	763
3. Utah	1912	do	121,917	79	112,385	804
4. Idaho	1914	Governor	117,276	82	109,922	767
5. Washington	1912	President	374,615	85	322,799	807
6. California	1914	Governor	1,004,902	89	926,754	672
7. Kansas	1914	do	689,173	95	530,206	773
8. Oregon	1914	do	210,566	97	210,566	797
9. Arizona	1914	do	59,186	99	51,007	761
10. Montana	1912	do	92,344	104	79,778	783
11. Nevada	1914	do	<sup>2</sup> 20,628	105	<sup>2</sup> 20,628	785
Total			3,023,728 2,673,210		<sup>2</sup> 2,673,210	
Padded difference			350,518			

<sup>1</sup> These are the figures from Woman Suffrage, History, Arguments, Results, edited by suffragists and published May, 1915. Their increased totals in every instance are apparently made by taking the total in the World Almanac and adding to it the Prohibition, Socialist, and Socialist Labor vote which were already included in the total given by the 1915 World Almanac. Thus the figures are padded, and do not represent the vote, as is shown by the column which is taken from the World Almanac.

<sup>2</sup> The suffragist book gives this date of 1914, while the World Almanac of 1915 gives the election for 1910.

<sup>3</sup> Latest polls for both men and women.

The figures of Wyoming, Oregon, and Nevada are apparently the only ones the suffragists have not padded.

Now, gentlemen, the question arises, Where are those 4,000,000 voters from the West that the suffragists claim? The total for all suffrage States, both men and women, as the figures I have given you will show, is 2,673,210. That is the total number of voters we have instead of the 4,000,000 women voters claimed by the suffragists.

In his message to Congress, in special session, July 4, 1861, the immortal Abraham Lincoln said:

It is now for them to demonstrate to the world that those who can fairly carry an election can also suppress a rebellion; \* \* \* and that when ballots have fairly and constitutionally decided that there can be no successful appeal back to bullets; that there can be no successful appeal except to ballots themselves at succeeding elections.

Further, he said:

No popular government can long survive the marked precedent that those who carry an election can only save the Government from immediate destruction by giving up the main points upon which the people gain the election. The people themselves and not their servants can safely reverse their own deliberate decisions.

I thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. We have been very glad to hear from you, Mr. Carter.

MAN-SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION  
OPPOSED TO POLITICAL SUFFRAGE FOR WOMEN,  
New York, January 7, 1916.

Hon. EDWIN Y. WEBB,  
*Chairman Committee on the Judiciary,  
United States House of Representatives,  
Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: In accordance with the request made by a member of your committee I herewith inclose a copy of the statement of expenditures and receipts which I have certified by a notary.

The deficit may be misleading. There was a balance on hand before the campaign began so that there was not an actual deficit; but this includes the expenditures and receipts from the time the proposed State amendment came before the people of the State to election day.

Very truly, yours.

FRANKLIN CARTER, JR.,  
*Secretary.*

Totals of statement filed with the secretary of state of New York at Albany, November 20, 1915, showing the receipts and expenditures for the campaign of 1915.

Expenditures.....	\$8,530.93
Receipts.....	7,790.81
Total.....	740.12

STATE OF NEW YORK,  
*City and County of New York, ss:*

Franklin Carter, jr., being duly sworn, deposes and says: That he is secretary of the Man-Suffrage Association Opposed to Political Suffrage for Women; that he is familiar with the financial affairs of the said association, and that the above statement from the report filed November 20, 1915, is correct to the best of his knowledge, information, and belief.

FRANKLIN CARTER, JR.

Sworn to before me this 7th day of February, 1916.  
[SEAL.]

MILES G. POWERS,  
*Notary Public, Kings County.*

# HOME RULE—A BRIEF AGAINST THE PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT COMPELLING THE STATES TO ADOPT WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

An association of women who favor political suffrage for women ask for the adoption of an amendment to the Constitution of the United States prohibiting the States from denying to women the right to vote.

In our judgment the regulation of the right and duty of voting at elections should be left where it is now—with each State—and should not be controlled by constitutional amendment.

Our country is the most prosperous in the world. It has increased in population and in wealth. It has been for more than a century, and still is, "the promised land" for millions in other countries who are attracted by the freedom, the prosperity, the opportunity of this. We are a union, but that union is composed of many States. It is the right of each State to regulate its local affairs without interference from the other States. Thus we have succeeded in avoiding the jealousy and bitterness which have been a poisonous mixture in the union between Great Britain and Ireland. What the Irish people have for more than 100 years struggled to obtain is local self-government. Their argument for this is largely drawn from the successful experience of that system in the United States. It shows ignorance of history, and, above all, ignorance of the history and politics of the United States, to seek to change this fundamental principle of our Government. For this principle the Democratic Party has always loyally stood. In the platform of its last national convention it made the following declaration:

"Believing that the most efficient results under our system of Government are to be attained by the full exercise by the States of their reserved sovereign power, we denounce the efforts of our opponents to deprive the States of any of the rights reserved to them."

Could anything indicate more clearly the lack of political qualifications on the part of many of the women who advocate woman suffrage to exercise that duty and responsibility than their appearance here to urge upon Congress the abrogation of this fundamental principle?

Let us consider first what the Constitution now declares:

"The House of Representatives shall be composed of members, chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature."

The constitutional amendment as to the election of Senators is as follows:

"The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof for six years, and each Senator shall have one vote.

"The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for the most numerous branch of the State legislatures."

Here, then, we have a recent vote of Congress, ratified by the people for the maintenance of the principle of American Federal Government that suffrage is to be regulated by the States.

The provision of section 1, Article II, in reference to the election of the President is similar.

Article II, section 1: "Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress."

It is Thomas Jefferson to whom the Democratic Party has always looked as its founder. To the principles of democratic government formulated by Thomas Jefferson the party in the national convention of 1912 reaffirmed its devotion. This great man in a letter to Madison, February 8, 1783, thus expressed himself:

"With respect to everything external, we be one nation only, firmly hooked together. Internal government is what each State should keep to itself."<sup>1</sup>

But it was not alone Jefferson who advocated this doctrine. Whatever differences there might be in regard to the powers to be entrusted to the General Government, the Federalists as well as the Democrats were one in their devotion to the principle of local self-government. In the debates in Connecticut on the adoption of the Federal Constitution Oliver Wolcott said:

"The Constitution effectually secures the States in their several rights. It must secure them for its own sake, for they are the pillars which uphold the general system."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Art. I, sec. 2, Constitution.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Tucker (J. Randolph), Const. U. S., p. 317.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Elliott Debates, 2 ed., p. 202.

But we have on this subject the authority of a greater than Wolcott—one of the authors of the Constitution; one who, with Madison and Jay, united in the composition of the celebrated letters now published in one volume as the *Federalist* which advocated effectively the ratification of our Constitution; a man whom we delight to honor, Alexander Hamilton. In his speech in the convention of New York, he used this memorable language:

"Were the laws of the Union to new model the internal police of any State; were they to alter or abrogate at a blow the whole of its civil and criminal institutions; were they to penetrate the recesses of domestic life and control in all respects the private conduct of individuals, there might be more force in the objection; and the same Constitution which was happily calculated for one State might sacrifice the welfare of another."<sup>1</sup>

"The blow aimed at the members must give a fatal wound to the head; and the destruction of the States must be at once a political suicide. Can the National Government be guilty of this madness?"<sup>2</sup>

These memorable statements of the fathers of the Republic were echoed by Chief Justice Marshall, delivering the judgment of the Supreme Court in *McCulloch v. Maryland*.<sup>3</sup>

"No political dreamer was ever wild enough to think of breaking down the lines which separate the States and of compounding the American people into one common mass."

Another great Virginian, who was for years chairman of the Judiciary Committee of this House, J. Randolph Tucker, said:<sup>4</sup>

"As the representatives are, as we have shown, representatives of the States according to their respective numbers, and are to be elected by the people of the several States, it is obvious that the people of the State should designate the voters who should voice its will."

By strict adherence to these principles, fundamental in the United States Constitution, we have prospered. Where we have deviated from them we have suffered.

It has been said that the subject of woman suffrage is one of great importance. But it is more important that each State should regulate the suffrage according to the judgment of its own citizens. The suffragists advocate the adoption of a constitutional amendment which would prevent each State from regulating this important subject in a manner suited to its needs.

Is not this unjust and undemocratic? Colorado, for example, has a population of only 799,024. The population of New York is 9,113,279, nearly 12 times as much. That of Texas is 3,896,524. That of Virginia is 2,061,612; that of Massachusetts, 3,366,416. Wyoming has only 145,965. The entire population of 11 suffrage States is 1,064,145 less than that of New York.

Fleven States have defeated woman suffrage at the polls, three of them twice and with increasing majorities. In 18 additional States woman suffrage has recently lost in the legislatures. Is there justice in the attempt of this minority to impose upon these States, 29 in all, that to which they have so definitely expressed themselves as opposed?

This session of Congress has faced a most critical condition in the history of the Nation and of the world. To experiment with our principles of government at such a time may well threaten our national being. Congress is burdened with momentous duties, and the people who look for true representation earnestly beseech you to consider them and their State rights, and to stand firm in your principle in their behalf.

It is most fitting that those who are opposed to the extension of political suffrage for women should appear here in defense of the principles of "home rule." We stand for the sacredness of the home, the security of the home, the protection of the mother and the family. We believe in the dependence of man upon woman and of woman upon man, each supreme in the proper sphere. The same intrinsic principle is the basis of our present argument. We believe in the authority of the Union, but equally do we believe in protecting the rights of each individual State. It is only by preserving the security and authority of each that the happiness and prosperity of the whole can be attained. Happiness and prosperity depend upon obedience to law. Home rule is the natural law of America.

MAN-SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

FRANKLIN CARTER, Jr.,

*Secretary.*

<sup>1</sup> 2 Elliott Debates, 2d ed., p. 267.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 353.

<sup>3</sup> 4 Wheaton, 316.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Tucker Const. U. S., 394.

**STATEMENT OF PAUL LITTLEFIELD, REPRESENTING THE  
MEN'S CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE, PENNSYLVANIA ASSOCIATION  
OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE.**

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee—

Mr. VOLSTEAD. What is the organization you represent?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I have just said—

The CHAIRMAN. State it again, please. All the gentlemen didn't appear to hear.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Very well. I represent the men's campaign committee of the Pennsylvania Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

I am very glad to be here, gentlemen. I have here a letterhead, which, if you wish to see it, contains the names of the members of the committee I represent.

Mr. DANFORTH. I would like to see it.

Mr. VOLSTEAD. How many members have you in your organization?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I could not tell you offhand.

It is my purpose this morning to present briefly to you a few reasons why the Pennsylvania Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, and especially its campaign committee composed of men, respectfully ask your committee not to report out the proposed woman suffrage amendment to the Federal Constitution.

The best informed men from woman suffrage States who favor suffrage have said that woman suffrage makes no difference in the Government, or in political, social, and economic conditions. This, then, is the best that can be said for woman suffrage—it makes no change. In one instance this is strikingly true.

Woman suffrage States elected 37 representatives to the present Congress, and all are men. All the high executive officials in these Commonwealths now are and always have been men. To the minds of the antisuffragists it is a ridiculous proposition to enfranchise a sex which lacks the political ability and, I may add, the desire of a large majority to elect a single one, a single woman, out of 37 Representatives in Congress, or even 1 governor, when women have been voting for 46 years in Wyoming and 22 years in Colorado, although it is jobs the suffragists want.

I have never heard the claim made for a political life that it elevated the moral sense of man. Even the name politician has become with some a word of reproach. I think this is unjust, but it can not be sanely said that the presence of women in politics will do them any good. The chief of police of one of our large eastern industrial cities stated to me personally that he considered woman suffrage as a great moral menace to women, and opposed it on that ground. By saying woman's presence in the political arena will purify politics is presupposing a greater resisting power to temptations than is possessed by man and from which, as nonvoters, women are now absolutely exempt.

Mr. Chairman, this is no time for Congress to consider and waste its precious attention on a proposition which its proponents admit will make no difference in existing conditions. To-day we are witnessing the greatest war in all history, and America is almost totally unpre-

pared to defend either its honor or its existence. We have not ammunition sufficient to last two hours in battle——

Mr. WHALEY. Are we going to listen to a talk on preparedness here? That might be all right before the Military Committee, but this is hardly the committee to discuss that matter before.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Oh, this is not on military preparedness. I merely mention these things in passing. It is merely a small part of this argument.

The CHAIRMAN. Let him proceed.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD (continuing). Or enough field artillery to properly defend New York City, and here we are seriously discussing a proposed amendment to our Constitution to enfranchise women without their consent and in the face of an adverse majority of 977,000 of the men in 11 great States in three years.

Nero fiddled while Rome burned, and Anthony flung away a world for a woman, but let it not be said of Americans that they talked female suffrage while almost every other virile people of the earth were fighting and a million of their manly men were dying.

The many good women of the country who are opposed to woman suffrage do so because they know that a large majority of their sex will always be too absorbed with domestic duties to be active participants in practical politics, and they do not wish to be represented in public questions by the type of woman who, as I myself have heard many of them shout from their soap boxes on the street corners, says the man-made laws have classed women politically with idiots, paupers, criminals, and aliens. Such women are not truly representative of their sex, but unfortunately they are the type who would always vote and claim, as they do now, to stand for American womanhood.

Mrs. Horace Brook, the president of the Pennsylvania Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, especially asked me to convey to your committee the fact that the women of our State do trust the men to legislate wisely and justly for them; and that the ideas of chivalry which have existed for a thousand years are the great bulwark surrounding and protecting women and upon which, because of their lack of physical strength they must rely for both safety and happiness.

Mr. DANFORTH. The members of this committee did ask the ladies when they were here how they felt upon this question. Mr. Littlefield, you are the campaign manager, are you?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes, sir.

Mr. NELSON. Were you active in the campaign in Pennsylvania?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes, sir.

Mr. NELSON. Did you distribute funds?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I handled the funds; yes, sir.

Mr. NELSON. In how large amounts?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I do not care to answer to this committee on that point. I do not think it is within your jurisdiction. Moreover, I do not think it is germane to this hearing at all.

Mr. NELSON. Is there any reason why you do not care to disclose that fact?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I do not think it is germane to the hearing.

Mr. NELSON. How was it raised—the fund which you distributed and used in your campaign—was it raised by voluntary subscription?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes.



Mr. NELSON. It was raised entirely by voluntary contribution?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes.

Mr. DANFORTH. Are you now engaged in the campaign?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I am. We have a regular organization in Pennsylvania, and we have branches in the different parts of the State, and we are also, of course, all opposed to the passage of the so-called Susan B. Anthony amendment to the Federal Constitution. We are all anxious that should not be passed.

Mr. NELSON. Do you receive a salary?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I do.

Mr. NELSON. You receive a fixed salary?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. It is fixed—not by the year.

Mr. NELSON. How much is it a month?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I do not care to answer that question. It does not seem to me to be germane to this hearing at all. I decline to answer.

Mr. NELSON. You decline to answer?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes.

Mr. NELSON. Have you been in Washington during this session?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes, sir; part of the time.

Mr. NELSON. Do you stay here?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. From time to time I am here. I am away some of the time.

Mr. NELSON. You are actively engaged in looking after this amendment—the opposing of this amendment—in Washington. are you?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I am, in a sense.

Mr. VOLSTEAD. Interviewing members and persons generally?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes, to some extent.

Mr. VOLSTEAD. Did you receive a contribution from the campaign committee?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. From the Pennsylvania Association, yes, sir; a salary.

Mr. WILLIAMS. How much was the majority in Pennsylvania against woman suffrage?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. 55,000.

Mr. WILLIAMS. And you refuse to state to us how that was produced, how much money you used in opposing woman's suffrage in the State of Pennsylvania? You won't tell us what steps you took in order to bring about this condition?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I do not think it is within the province of this committee to inquire into that.

Moreover, I do not think it is germane to the hearing at all. I do not think those things ought to be inquired into here. That is a State matter.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Ought we not to know how that majority was obtained?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. It was obtained by the means of circulars, advertisements, the payment of speakers, their traveling expenses, and expenses of meetings. The contributions were obtained entirely by voluntary subscriptions from individuals.

Mr. WILLIAMS. How was it used?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. It was used entirely for the purpose of paying the expenses of the campaign.

Mr. WILLIAMS. If we knew how much was used we would have an idea whether it was legitimately used or not. I think we ought to know that.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. This is a congressional committee discussing the question of the Susan B. Anthony amendment to the Federal Constitution. That which you are inquiring into is a State matter. It does not seem to me to be germane to the bill at all.

Mr. CARAWAY. I understand that, Mr. Littlefield, but there has been introduced into the House of Representatives a resolution to inquire into whether or not there is a lobby in connection with this suffrage movement here in Washington.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes, I understood there was.

Mr. CARAWAY. There is.

The CHAIRMAN. It was introduced by the gentleman from South Carolina, Mr. Byrns.

Mr. CARAWAY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Has it been passed?

Mr. CARAWAY. It has been introduced in the House.

The CHAIRMAN. I know, but has it been passed?

Mr. CARAWAY. It is aimed at the ladies who were here.

The CHAIRMAN. But has it been passed?

Mr. CARAWAY. It is pending in the House.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, but there are a lot of things pending there that will never get through.

Mr. MORGAN. Do you know how much money was expended by the organization?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I do not care to answer the gentleman on that. I do not want to be discourteous, but I do not think it is germane to this hearing. I do not think it is a matter that ought to be inquired into here. We have come here to discuss the Susan B. Anthony amendment to the Federal Constitution, and it does not seem to me that the question of how much money was expended in our campaign in the State of Pennsylvania has any bearing upon the question at issue. I would like to answer the gentleman's question, but I do not feel that it has any bearing here. It is not germane. We are here to consider this amendment to the Federal Constitution, providing for woman suffrage. That is what we are here for. We are not here for the purpose of inquiring into the expenditures made in the campaign in the State of Pennsylvania. If the question were germane to the hearing, I would be willing to answer it. But it does not strike me that it is.

The CHAIRMAN. You need not answer the question unless you want to.

Mr. CARAWAY. Do you decline to answer it?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I decline on the ground that it is not germane to the hearing; yes.

Mr. CARAWAY. I would like to know if the witness can decline to answer?

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, yes. He is not a sworn witness. It is entirely up to him, whether he shall answer or not. I have no power to compel him to answer. If he desires to answer, he may; and if he does not desire to answer, he need not.

Mr. CARAWAY. Have you not a law in the State of Pennsylvania which requires the disclosure of the amount of funds that is spent in campaigns?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. A modified act.

Mr. CARAWAY. Did you have to report under that bill?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. No, sir.

Mr. CARAWAY. Was not that law applicable to your association?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. No, sir. I suppose the object of these questions is to elicit information as to how the various antisuffragist associations obtained their funds. We obtained our funds entirely by voluntary contributions.

Mr. MORGAN. Will you give me your reason for declining to answer these questions, as to how much money you used and whether you know or not? What are your reasons?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I could not say that I know positively. My reasons, however, for declining to answer your questions on that point is that I do not consider them germane to the subject here at all. I came here for the purpose of making a brief argument against the proposed Federal amendment.

Mr. MORGAN. Then, your only reason is that it is not germane to the proposition?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. And that it is a State question.

Mr. MORGAN. In other words, the amount spent was so small that you would really be ashamed to tell what it was?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Well, I think, Mr. Chairman, that we have discussed that question. I do not think it is germane to the hearing here, and I do not think the gentleman ought to press his question. I do not think it is germane.

Mr. MORGAN. You have no real objections to telling who gave you this money?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Well, Mr. Chairman, I think we have discussed that.

Mr. CARLIN. Just one question.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

Mr. MORGAN. Do you think that questions like this one when you come before the committee to be heard will be considered in the best light when you decline to answer questions which are put to you in regard to it?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. That question of yours was something as to which I do not know that I have positive knowledge. Moreover, I think it is a State matter, and I do not think it is at all germane to this hearing.

Mr. MORGAN. In refusing to answer these questions, are you carrying out any instructions from your organization?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. It was entirely a new question to me. But I think we have discussed that.

The CHAIRMAN. The chairman has ruled that the witness need not answer.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is asked, How much money was spent in the Pennsylvania campaign against woman suffrage? Gentlemen, I do not think the chairman can make this witness answer that. If he declines to answer, that is entirely up to him. It is for him to say whether he will answer or not.

Mr. MORGAN. The chairman says he has not the say-so. The chairman has no power to decide. It is altogether with the witness.

The CHAIRMAN. He has declined three or four times, and, I think, in the interest of economy of time, that we had better proceed. He is a voluntary witness.

Mr. MORGAN. As I understand it, then, the chairman rules so-and-so. That simply meant that the power to rule—the chairman has not the power to rule. It is wholly with the witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly, it is wholly with the witness.

Mr. CARLIN. Would you mind saying whether your organization does not associate and cooperate with the Republican organization in Pennsylvania?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I do not understand your question.

Mr. CARLIN. The question is, Which political division in Pennsylvania does your organization cooperate with—the Republicans, the Democrats, or the Bull Moosers?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. The Pennsylvania Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage has no political affiliations.

Mr. WHALEY. I think I see the name of Penrose here, as an officer of the Pennsylvania Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage. Is he a brother of the Senator?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Dr. Charles B. Panrose is a practicing physician and surgeon in Pennsylvania. To answer your question, he is, sir.

Mr. WHALEY. Isn't he the head of the health board in Pennsylvania?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Not of the health board?

Mr. WHALEY. Of what board, then?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. He is on a commission regarding the preservation of game.

Mr. WHALEY. He is connected with the department of health, is he not?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I could not say.

Mr. WHALEY. Did your association make any return to any State officials so far as the campaign expenses were concerned? Does not the law require you, as a political organization, to make a return of political expenditures?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. The law requires that candidates make returns.

Mr. WHALEY. Does it not require parties to make returns?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. It requires candidates to make returns.

Mr. WHALEY. Does it not require parties to make returns, also?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. It requires political organizations to make returns, I believe; yes.

Mr. WHALEY. Is not your association a political organization?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Not in that sense.

Mr. WHALEY. You did not make a return?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. No, sir.

Mr. WHALEY. That is a legal question.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. We did not make a return.

Mr. CARAWAY. Don't you think it wise that any organization that seeks to influence public opinion, and which handles funds, should report the amount of funds received, where they received them, and what they used them for? Don't you think they ought to be required to report those matters?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I decline to answer, because I do not wish to get into a discussion on other matters.

Mr. CARAWAY. I am not asking why you did not. I am asking if you do not think, as a matter of policy, that political organizations ought to be required to make such returns?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I am advocating the defeat of woman suffrage, and I do not care to go into a prolonged discussion of State matters.

Mr. IGOE. You are here representing your State association. You so stated.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes, sir.

Mr. IGOE. Then, can you not answer some questions that will indicate whether there is anything, any motive, back of your activities?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. The only motive back of my appearance here is to oppose woman suffrage.

Mr. IGOE. Are you the only man active in the association?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. There are several organizations in the State affiliated with it.

Mr. IGOE. Are there any women active in it?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes, sir.

Mr. IGOE. Are any of these women named on this list here? About 50 appeared before the committee in Congress in opposition.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. They appeared before the Senate committee.

Mr. IGOE. They appeared before the Senate committee?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the women in favor of woman suffrage, under the association in Pennsylvania, make a campaign and spend money too?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they make any return to the secretary of state.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. No, sir.

Mr. WILLIAMS. You are here for the purpose of promoting the purposes of your organization?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes. I am here to present arguments against the proposed Federal amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is to promote the purposes of your organization. Do you think that it can be accomplished by suppressing information that the committee wants?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I have no desire to do so, sir.

Mr. CARAWAY. He has declined to answer. You have declined to answer, have you not?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes. As to the funds of the association I have no personal knowledge. I have no personal knowledge as to the exact contributions made.

Mr. TAGGART. Do you happen to remember what was the Republican majority in Pennsylvania, say, Senator Penrose's majority?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. 245,000.

Mr. TAGGART. Was that majority rolled up the same day the suffrage question was voted on?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. No, sir; we had no State candidates at that time.

Mr. TAGGART. It was just the suffrage question?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. No, sir; we had a large number of local candidates.

Mr. TAGGART. You had the usual overwhelming Republican victory throughout the State?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. We had a general Republican victory; yes, sir. I believe so.

Mr. DANFORTH. As I understand, your activities covered the State of Pennsylvania?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. We have branch associations; yes, sir.

Mr. DANFORTH. You worked against the question of woman suffrage throughout the State, did you not?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes, sir.

Mr. DANFORTH. And you aided these local associations and gave them such financial and moral support as you were capable of doing? I mean by saying "you" your association.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. To answer your question, the Pennsylvania Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage is an association which has been in existence about seven years. It has been engaged in a continuous propaganda against woman suffrage in Pennsylvania and before Congress—before both Houses of Congress. It is engaged at the present time in disseminating literature and doing such things in general as will promote the cause.

Mr. DANFORTH. Disseminating money to local associations?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I could not state that, because I am not the treasurer and am not disbursing any money.

Mr. DANFORTH. You are the manager?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes, sir.

Mr. DANFORTH. You don't know anything about the disbursing of funds beyond the salary you receive as officer?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Only in a general way. I have no knowledge of just what other expenditures are being made at the present time.

Mr. DANFORTH. How much majority was there in Pennsylvania outside of Philadelphia?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. The majority in Philadelphia was 45,000 against woman suffrage. It was 10,000 in the State outside of Philadelphia, making a total of 55,000 against woman suffrage. That included a majority of 5,000 in the city of Pittsburgh. The large cities were against woman suffrage. Some of the dry counties were against it also.

Mr. DANFORTH. Outside of Philadelphia there was a majority against woman suffrage amounting to 10,000, of which 5,000 was in Pittsburgh. What other large cities voted against it?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. The vote by counties showed that in some of the coal regions the majority was for woman suffrage. Let me explain to the gentleman the result of that vote. There were four constitutional amendments. Three of them were adopted. Many men voted yes on all four. The reason for that is, they were interested in one, and that was the third. That one was workmen's compensation—amendment number three.

Mr. DANFORTH. There was nothing to prevent them from voting for number three and not for the rest, was there? They could have voted for number three alone?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Oh, yes; they could have voted for number three alone, but it is rather confusing to the average voter. There were 400,000 men who went to the polls on election day in the State

of Pennsylvania who did not vote either for or against woman suffrage.

Mr. CARAWAY. Is there anybody that you can think of who could give us information about the expenditures concerning which we have been asking you?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. There is a regular treasurer of the association.

Mr. CARAWAY. Where does she live?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Philadelphia.

Mr. CARAWAY. Would she have any objection, do you think, to coming down here and showing her books?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I do not know.

Mr. CARAWAY. Would you mind asking her and see whether she would be willing to disclose the sources of her contributions and to whom the money was paid out and for what purposes?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I will do that.

Mr. CARAWAY. I think the people ought to know who paid in this money and for what purposes the funds were used. I think it is entirely germane.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I said before, the contributions were entirely voluntary and entirely from individuals. There were no funds received from any other source than from individuals.

Mr. CARAWAY. I gather from your declination to answer these questions that your association does not court publicity and you do not want a place in the sun.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. That is not it. I do not think the matter is germane to this hearing.

Mr. CARAWAY. Where would that be germane?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I can not answer for the committee, sir.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Why do you come here and show us these large majorities against woman suffrage in nine different States, amounting to 997,000? What is the object of stating that to this committee? Why do you use that as argument?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. To show that the men do not favor woman suffrage.

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is not much of an argument. I would like to know just how those big majorities were piled up. I would like to know where you got the money from to roll up those big majorities and what you did with the money?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. To answer that, I do not think it is germane to this hearing at all. I am not prepared to state anything along that line at the present time. I think that is entirely a State matter, a matter to be handled by Pennsylvania alone, a sovereign State. I do not think this committee has any jurisdiction over that matter at all. The money the committee spent was entirely for legitimate purposes.

Mr. CARAWAY. Would you be willing to get the information when you get back home as to just where you got this money and what you did with it? Are you willing to do that?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I have no purpose in concealing anything. The matter is simply this, that I do not think it is germane to this hearing at all.

Mr. CARLIN. Don't you think it germane to the question as to whether this amendment should be defeated or not for the committee

to know what the motive and methods of those who are advocating its defeat are? What is your motive?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Our contributions are entirely from individuals.

Mr. THOMAS. What are the motives behind all this activity?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. The only motive is, as I have stated in my argument, opposition to this Susan B. Anthony amendment to the Federal Constitution. There is nothing back of that. It is a matter of principle. The men of the campaign committee are all well known business and professional men who are opposing woman suffrage because they sincerely believe woman suffrage is not desirable either for the State or for women.

Mr. MORGAN. How much did the liquor interests contribute?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. We received no money, whatever, from the liquor interests.

Mr. MORGAN. Did your association refuse to receive anything from the liquor interests?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. There was none offered and none received.

Mr. MORGAN. Was there any solicited?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. No, sir.

Mr. MORGAN. Isn't it a fact that the liquor interests, the wholesalers, the manufacturers, and the retailers of this country have all contributed to the defeat of woman suffrage in these various States?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I do not know.

Mr. MORGAN. Don't you know that they have contributed?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Not so far as I know.

Mr. MORGAN. So far as you know?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes. I will say that the general attitude of the campaign committee of the organization which I represent, the Pennsylvania Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, and the association itself, is not to receive any contribution from any liquor interests.

Mr. MORGAN. Wasn't a collection taken up through other channels, through which the funds might have reached your association?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I do not like that insinuation.

Mr. MORGAN. We want the information, I do not want to insinuate anything. I am not curious to know anything but the facts in this matter.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. As I said before, all our contributions were voluntary contributions, made by individuals entirely. We have received no money from any liquor interests, either direct or indirect.

Mr. MORGAN. How many men supported this organization?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. How many men?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I do not know.

Mr. MORGAN. About how many?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I could not answer that.

Mr. MORGAN. How many men belong to your organization, to your knowledge?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. We have a list of organizations that belong to it.

Mr. MORGAN. How many organizations belong to your association, or are affiliated with it?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. The ladies have branch organizations in a number of Pennsylvania cities. I do not know their number.

Mr. MORGAN. I want to know how much of an organization it is.



Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I could not tell you offhand.

Mr. MORGAN. Can you give us some idea?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Of the number of men associated with it?

Mr. MORGAN. I want to know about how large the organization is.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I could not tell you.

Mr. MORGAN. Don't ladies have membership in the organization?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes, sir.

Mr. CARAWAY. Did you receive any contributions from sources outside of Pennsylvania?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Not to my knowledge, no.

Mr. CARAWAY. You say you have branches in numerous cities working in conjunction with and under your campaign committee. Is that true?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. There is an association of women in Pennsylvania, located in Pittsburgh, called the Pittsburgh Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage. This is affiliated with the Pennsylvania association.

Mr. CARAWAY. I wanted to know whether there are any branches of your association outside of the State of Pennsylvania?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. No, sir.

Mr. CARAWAY. It is entirely a State organization?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. It is, yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that all the questions there are to ask Mr. Littlefield?

(No response.)

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any other gentleman who desires to speak to the committee?

Mr. STONE. I would like to say a few words.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

#### STATEMENT OF MR. STONE, OF BOSTON, MASS.

Mr. STONE. I am here purely in the interest of a friend of mine who is interested in this movement. I am not here in any official capacity at all. I appear here for the purpose of asking, on behalf of the chairman of the Massachusetts Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage the privilege of submitting a brief. I am here for that purpose only. The chairman, Mr. Robert Turner, is at present in the West. I can reach him by telegraph in time so that he can have a brief prepared and presented here to the committee within a week. I think such a brief from him will clear up many of the matters that are pending before this committee, and in which everybody is interested. I am sure he would be very glad to incorporate in that brief a statement of the receipts and expenditures of the Massachusetts Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage. I am sure he would be glad to inform the committee what receipts and expenditures were made in this movement against woman suffrage in the State of Massachusetts.

If I remember correctly—I am not sure that I am stating it correctly, but this is my recollection—that the newspaper reports of expenditures—I didn't see the official reports—had the amount at \$54,000 in 1915, and there were 458,000 voters who voted upon the suffrage question in that State, and voted against it a majority of 133,087.

If there are any questions that the gentlemen of this committee would care to ask me, I shall be very glad to answer them, to such extent as may be within my power.

If the committee would like to have a certified copy of the statement of receipts and expenditures filed I am very sure this can be arranged.

The CHAIRMAN. If there are no other gentlemen who wish to speak upon this question, the hearing will be adjourned.

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Chairman, may I ask a question?

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly.

Mr. CARTER. I should like to be permitted also the privilege of putting in a brief on this question.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I will state for the information of the members of the committee that the campaign committee spent about \$20,000 during the campaign. I have not the exact figures with me.

Mr. WHALEY. May I make a statement, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly. Mr. Whaley desires to make a statement.

Mr. WHALEY. It is in regard to conditions of women in South Carolina.

The CHAIRMAN. We shall be very glad to have it in the record.

#### STATEMENT OF MR. RICHARD S. WHALEY, A MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM SOUTH CAROLINA.

Mr. WHALEY. There was a statement made at the last hearing we had in regard to the law of South Carolina as to the hours of work for women in that State. I just want to put into the record the following:

The hours of labor in South Carolina are limited to 60 hours a week, 10 hours a day in cotton and woolen mills, and 12 hours in mechanical establishments.

South Carolina prohibits night labor for women after 10 o'clock p.m.

That is something that Colorado, with her 34 years of woman suffrage has thus far failed to do, and Wyoming has not done after 46 years of woman suffrage.

I also want to put in a little statement here from the annual report of the commissioner of agriculture commerce and industries of the State of South Carolina, for the year 1915. This is the labor division, factory inspection, and manufacturing statistics.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

Mr. WHALEY. The child labor situation in June was still continuing to lead away from the employment of the young child, even those between the ages of 12 and 14 years of age are allowed under law to work. At that time, as compared to last year, there were 219 more white boys and 263 more white girls between the ages of 14 to 16 years in the mills than there were the year before. Between the same ages, the Negro males decreased by 23 and the Negro girls by 6. There were 223 less white boys between the ages of 12 to 14 in the mills this year than last year, and 116 less white girls between the same ages than last year, and there were 20 less Negro boys and 5 less Negro girls between the ages of 12 to 14 than at the same time last year.

Summarizing the child labor situation, the increase in children were all white children between the ages of 14 and 16, totaling 482 in number. The decreases were in children between the ages of 12 to 14. Of these, 339 were white children and 25 colored children, and then there were 29 colored children less, between the ages of 14 to 16. The total decrease, therefore, in child labor amounted to 393, of which 339 were white children between the ages of 12 and 14. There were in June, therefore, only 7,425 children under the age of 16 employed in textiles of the State of South Carolina, and of these 4,583 were above the age of 14 years, leaving only 2,843 between the ages of 12 and 14 working under permits granted by the State under the law. Most of these latter number were rapidly approaching the age of 14. Just one year before there were 4,100 white children between the age of 14 to 16 and 3,182 between 12 to 14.

It is easy to see from the figures given above that there was during the first six months of 1915 a rapid drift away from the employment of the child that is under the age of 14 years. Considering the industrial situation in the State as a whole, nothing could be more gratifying than this very fact.

BRIEF SUBMITTED BY ROBERT N. TURNER, ESQ., OF BOSTON, REPRESENTING THE MEN'S ANTISUFFRAGE COMMITTEE, OF MASSACHUSETTS.

The corner stone of the woman-suffrage movement is the argument that the vote is a "natural" or "inherent" or "inalienable right" from the enjoyment of which women are "tyrannically excluded by men." This is not a statement of fact put forth by the men of Massachusetts who oppose the adoption by the Congress of the United States of a constitutional amendment, but it is the position assumed by Miss Anna Howard Shaw, who at the time of its utterance was president of the National Woman Suffrage Association and who said in the New York Evening Post of February 25, 1915: "I believe in woman suffrage whether all women vote or no women vote, whether all women vote right or all women vote wrong, whether women will love their husbands after they vote or forsake them, whether they will neglect their children or never have any children."

We assert that in the above statement of the suffrage case there is no pretense that the State or anybody in it will benefit by giving the ballot to women.

We assert that Miss Shaw's contention is that woman has an inalienable right to vote and that this right is more important than patriotism, happy homes, well-cared-for children, and Christian morals.

When all legal authorities, all decisions of the United States Supreme Court in which the question is discussed, and common sense as well, say there is no such thing as a natural right to vote, we are confident that you gentlemen of the Judiciary Committee will listen to the voice of reason and reach the conclusion that the suffrage argument, to the effect that the vote is an inalienable right, stands unsupported on every hand, and hence must fall.

We submit that if any further evidence is needed of the utter futility of double suffrage it is found in the almost complete abandonment by suffrage leaders of the "practical results" argument in their demand for their ballot and their return to the exploded theory of "natural right."

It was upon the theory of "right" that the original demand for the vote for woman was based; but when the Supreme Court again and again had ruled that no such right existed the suffragists abandoned the theory and rested their "cause" on the alleged wonders that women were working and would work in States where they had the vote.

As late as 1914 the suffrage campaign manual explicitly stated that suffrage was "not a natural right." The argument for suffrage then, as it had been for years, was that it would purify politics, reduce infant mortality, wipe out the social evil, and make happier families. "Look at Colorado," was the suffrage slogan hurled at every doubting Thomas. Remember, gentlemen, the government of Colorado had not at that time broken down. With the strike of 1913-14 came the nightmare of anarchy, due to the impotency and indifference of a feminized electorate. The suffrage leaders discerned that the Colorado suffrage argument had become a suffrage boomerang. When the house of cards built by the suffragists upon the sands of Colorado fell about their ears, they were forced to seek another foundation for their unstable edifice.

And all that remained was the abandoned delusion of "Natural right." The thing that wasn't so, according to the suffrage campaign manual of 1914, became the cornerstone of the suffrage movement before the campaign manual was off the press. "Back to Susan B. Anthony's 'rights' argument" was the verbal life line thrown to the drifting and bewildered suffragists. And Miss Shaw gave this message to the country: "I contend that we should not answer our opponents when they argue along these lines, because facts as to the results of equal suffrage, or the number of women who want suffrage, or the reasons they ought to want it have no bearing on our question."

Miss Shaw still stands on that ground, and the suffrage associations, State and National, stand there with her.

Although female suffrage has been on trial from 4 to 46 years in nine States of the Union, the suffragists refuse to stand on their record, but base their demand for a constitutional amendment on grounds abandoned as untenable more than a quarter of a century ago.

If the franchise were a right, like the right, which everyone possesses, to have his person and his property protected, the Government would not be justified in withholding it from any individual. That it is not such a right common sense alone teaches. The minor, the alien, the Indian, the sailor or soldier in service, the citizen of the District of Columbia, each has a right to have his person and his property protected. But he has no vote. From each of these classes the ballot has been withheld on the ground that "their participation in the Government would be for the disadvantage of the State," the reasons for taking that ground being, of course, different in each case. In the case of women it was a question solely of how they could best serve the State, and it was decided, and is still held by all who oppose woman suffrage, that women can best serve the State outside the realm of political contention. Neither man nor woman has an inherent right to vote, and since the question of "natural right" is in no way involved, the question that you gentlemen should try and answer to your own satisfaction before you vote to report out this proposed amendment is, Will the public interest be better served, on the whole, by an electorate composed of men and women than it is by an electorate of men alone? This question is fundamental. All others are secondary, though many may be considered, for instance, How many women really want to vote? How will political strife be likely to affect women? Can women be the mother of the race and the governor of the race at the same time without any loss of efficiency?

If it can be demonstrated that the State will benefit by woman suffrage, woman suffrage should be adopted, for what benefits the State benefits all within the State. It isn't enough for the suffragists to attempt to prove that no harm will come to the State by doubling its electorate. The burden is upon them to prove that "votes for women" will raise the standard of government and make it more efficient. They must prove, therefore, that on the average women will vote more intelligently, more discriminatingly, more regularly, and more unselfishly than men. They must prove that, on the average, women will be wiser and better electors and legislators than men. This, of course, they can not do, and few enlightened suffragists now attempt it. They know woman suffrage has been tried and found wanting; that it has not purified politics; that it has not improved the economic condition of women, raised the standard of government, or accomplished any reform which has not been accomplished as well or better in States where men alone vote. Every unbiased person who has studied the situation in woman-suffrage States will tell you gentlemen that the ballot in the hands of women has not done what its advocates promised. He will tell you, on the contrary, that it has increased taxes in many States, lessened respect for the law, menaced the home, and injured women. A small minority of women may be able to induce men to force the ballot on an unwilling majority of women, but no power has yet been devised to make an unwilling majority of women vote. Certain voters, male and female, can always be depended upon to go to the polls. These are the voters who are led by bosses or by private interests. Woman suffrage will double the number of voters who will vote as they are told. But it will not double the number of independent voters, because the great majority of women whose votes would count against the bosses and the selfish interests will not go to the polls. Evidence to substantiate the above claims is found in abundance in all States where women have either partial or full suffrage. In Massachusetts women have had the vote for school committee since 1879. Here is what they have done: For the last 17 years there has been in that State an average registration of 4.8 per cent of the women entitled to vote, and an actual vote of 2.1 per cent, or less than 50 per cent of the registration. In other words, over 97 per cent of the women entitled to register and vote for school committee in Massachusetts have failed to do their duty. Take one town in that State, for instance, Dedham. In 1889, the first year a record was kept, 154 women voted. In 1903 this vote had dwindled to one, and for 11 years thereafter not one female vote was cast in that town.

In the six double suffrage States of Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Wyoming, Washington, and California the combined vote of men and women for President in 1912 was 47.9 per cent of the total number of men and women over 21 years of age, exclusive of Chinese and Japanese, residing in those States according to the census of 1910.

In the six adjoining States of Kansas, Nebraska, Oregon, Nevada, South Dakota, and Missouri, where men alone voted for President in 1912 (although since that year some of these States have adopted suffrage for women), the total vote was 69.1 per cent of the men over 21, exclusive of Chinese and Japanese residing in those States.

The election in Chicago in April last has been cited by suffragists as proof of their contention that women will vote as generally as men if given the opportunity. But the facts of the Chicago election lead most convincingly to the opposite conclusion. According to the Chicago Tribune, there were in Chicago last April 512,657 men and 501,384 women eligible to register and vote. The vote on April 6 was: Men, 434,277; women, 250,404. Of the men eligible to vote there voted 84.7 per cent. Of the women eligible to vote there voted 49.9 per cent. Here we have 50.1 per cent of the women voters neglecting their political duty, while only 15.3 per cent of the men are guilty of like neglect, and this was the first city election in Chicago when the women had been afforded the novelty of voting.

Then there is the high cost of this double suffrage government. The secretary of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts estimates that doubling our electorate would add at least 50 per cent to the cost of elections in Massachusetts. The Los Angeles Times of September 26, 1914, tells us it cost the citizens of California \$1,637,500 to exercise the double suffrage that year, or an increase of 133 per cent over what it cost in 1910, when they had male suffrage. According to figures filed with the clerk of the United States Senate, the expenses of candidates for the Senate in 1914 were more than three times as great in woman suffrage States as in male suffrage States of the same average population. In Vermont, Missouri, Connecticut, and New Hampshire, male suffrage States, with an average population of 1,298,155, the average cost of securing election to the United States Senate was \$5,094.66 per Senator. But in Utah, California, Kansas, and Colorado, woman suffrage States, with an average population of 1,310,218, the average cost per Senator was \$18,460.98. Those who do not count the cost will not consider this an argument against woman suffrage. But the poor man is forced to count the cost. He is counting it now in Colorado, with its tax rate of \$40.10 per \$1,000 of assessed valuation, and he is counting it in Australia and New Zealand, double suffrage countries, which are known as the champion debt-ridden countries of the world.

The statistics of divorce prove beyond a doubt that this great social menace is more prevalent and increasing faster in the woman suffrage States than it is in the male suffrage States. Treating the matter first from the standpoint of locality, with only incidental reference to suffrage, let us compare the New England States with the nine States which adopted woman suffrage in the period 1869-1912. In the 20 years, 1887-1906, there were 13.6 divorces to every 100 marriages in the nine suffrage States. In the same period in New England there were only 7.4 divorces to every 100 marriages. The increase in the number of divorces in the 20 years 1887-1906 over the previous 20 year period was:

	Per cent.
United States.....	187.7
Nine suffrage States.....	241.8
New England States.....	68.8

Colorado, with woman suffrage since 1893, has 409 divorces to every 100,000 of married population, while adjoining Nebraska, a male suffrage State, has only 226. The divorce rate per 100,000 population is 513 in Washington, 347 in Idaho, 386 in Oregon, and 361 in Wyoming, all woman suffrage States; while in male suffrage Missouri, North and South Dakota the divorce rate per 100,000 of married population is only 281, 268, and 270, respectively.

Rev. Martin Hart, Dean of the Denver Cathedral, in the issue of The Chronicle, a religious paper, for February, 1915, says: "Here in Denver we had last year 1,265 divorces out of 2,500 marriages."

It is known to all of you gentlemen that every one of the so-called social welfare laws were first conceived and advocated and enacted by male legislators elected by the votes of men alone. Kentucky, Wisconsin, New York, Ohio, and Massachusetts lead in the enactment of laws protecting children; Massachusetts in laws protecting women in industry; New York City and Boston in the reduction of infant mortality. Not one of these States or cities has woman suffrage. Many of these social welfare laws—notably the laws prohibiting night work—have not yet been passed in woman suffrage States.

You are told that woman in industry needs the ballot. She has had the ballot in some States for many years, and what is the result? In the United States as a whole, according to Dr. Helen Sumner in her book entitled "Equal Suffrage," women receive 55.3 per cent of the average of men's wages. In Colorado, where women have voted since 1893, women in industry receive only 47 cents for every dollar paid to men in wages. In Massachusetts, where women do not vote, women's wages average 62 cents for every dollar paid men in wages. Clearly, therefore, the ballot has not helped the Colorado wage earner to improve her economic status. You gentlemen know that the ballot has never helped a male voter to get a raise in wages. To enforce and maintain his rights he has had to join a union, and in this way has enforced his demands, but not at the ballot box. Samuel Gompers ought to be a pretty good judge. He is a suffragist, he has had the ballot many years, he has been interested in labor for a long time, and yet he says: "The vote doesn't mean a job, and equal suffrage doesn't necessarily mean equal pay for equal work."

Some of you gentlemen have been led to believe that suffrage helps the cause of prohibition. Let us look at the undisputed facts. Sixteen States have prohibition. Of these, five have woman suffrage. But one of them, Kansas, adopted prohibition in 1880, 32 years before it adopted woman suffrage. So that 12 states have adopted prohibition with men alone voting, while only 4 States have adopted prohibition where women voted. The State of Maine, which has defeated every attempt to introduce woman suffrage, has had prohibition since 1850. North Dakota, which defeated woman suffrage at the polls in 1914, has had prohibition since 1889. Not a single State went "dry" with women voting before November 3, 1914.

According to Senator Works, of California, the city of San Francisco has 3,500 saloons. The male suffrage city of Boston, Mass., with a population one and a half times as large as San Francisco, has only about 700 saloons.

On May 4, 1915, the women of Reno, Nev., exercising the franchise for the first time, voted against the proposition to reduce the number of saloons in that city from 80 to 40 and were publicly thanked by the liquor interests for standing by them.

After 46 years of woman suffrage, the State of Wyoming is still "wet."

Colorado, which has had woman suffrage since 1893, adopted prohibition November 3, 1914, but the city of Denver, under the local option provision for cities of 50,000 or over, voted to remain "wet."

California, which has had woman suffrage since 1911, defeated prohibition in 1914 by more than 150,000 majority.

Mrs. Abigail Scott Duniway, known as the "Mother of Suffrage in Washington, Oregon, and Idaho," called the Prohibitionists "pirates" in an address before the International Congress of Viticulturists at the Panama-Pacific Exposition, on July 14, 1915, according to the San Francisco Chronicle of July 15. And she closed her address with an attack on the W. C. T. U. declaring that she had no patience with those who "depend on a pussy wussy piece of white ribbon for protection from themselves."

In Montana, before the election of 1914, the Suffragists refused to permit the W. C. T. U. to march in their parade.

Do not such facts as these show that there is no connection between woman suffrage and prohibition?

The woman suffrage movement is the only movement having for its object the extension of the electorate that has ever met with organized opposition from those it was proposed to enfranchise. This is a fact of tremendous significance. It is a danger signal, gentlemen, that you should not ignore—that must not be ignored—by those who wish to do even-handed justice to women and to all concerned in the settlement of this grave problem. Is it reasonable to believe that if woman suffrage were not radically and fundamentally wrong, if it were not a well-organized and well-financed attempt to overturn existing institutions to the detriment of women and the country, thousands of patriotic women all over the land would organize and do the distasteful work they are compelled to do in order to fight it? It is not a question of women's rights. It is a question of which women's rights—the fancied rights of those who demand the ballot as the alpha and omega of all things temporal and spiritual, or the real rights of those who wish to remain free from political responsibilities.

After 46 years of organized, aggressive suffrage effort, at least 90 per cent of the female citizens of voting age in the State of Massachusetts are either actively opposed to woman suffrage or so indifferent to or contemptuous of the proposition that to enfranchise them would be a grave menace to the State and to the country. It was the bitter opposition of the suffragists that in 1913 defeated in Massachusetts an attempt which would have given the women of that State a chance to vote "Yes" or "No" on the question of woman suffrage. And in every State where a similar proposition has been

advanced it has met with the tireless and strenuous opposition of the suffrage propagandists who dare not allow the women of any State in the Union to decide the question for themselves.

The fundamental principle of democracy is the consent of the governed. This implies majority rule, and this suffrage movement is the most undemocratic movement that has ever been commenced in the history of civilization, for its proponents will not even permit those who are to receive it, if it is adopted, to pass upon the question of whether they want it, or prefer not to have it. The demand is for "justice for women." Very well. But for which women: For the 10 per cent who demand? Or for the 90 per cent who protest or say nothing? Let us by all means be just to women. But let us be just by respecting the rights of the majority who consent to our government, for in this way we shall be just to the State and to the Nation and to all women, even—though they may not know it—to the minority who are in rebellion.

And then we are told that it is unjust to tax women without giving them representation. The women of the country are not taxed without representation. Every woman tax payer gets for her taxes what every male taxpayer gets—public improvements and protection of life and property. And she is represented by all the male taxpayers in the community, because they can not represent themselves without representing her. Their interests as taxpayers are identical. The fact is, however, that the payment of taxes and the privilege of voting have no connection whatsoever. A man may own property in every city and town in the Commonwealth except the one where he lives, yet he can vote only in the one where he lives. Minors and aliens are fully taxed on their property, but are excluded from the franchise. A system of government based on property would give the rich man a power over the poor man that would destroy democratic government, and give us in its place a plutarchy.

It was because of its inherent injustice that the property qualifications for voters were abolished in the States many years ago, and the demand that it be revived now in the interest of a few women is so extraordinary that it is difficult to understand how any sane person can be deceived by it.

Gentlemen, there is no question of superiority, inferiority, or equality involved in this discussion. Men are not equal to women. Women are not equal to men. They are simply different. And the whole tendency of civilization is toward further differentiation. To say that men and women are equal, or that one sex is superior to the other, is as senseless as to say that air and water are equal, or that one is superior to the other. Each is superior in its own sphere. Both are essential to life. But they are essentially different and can not be compared. To ask woman to assume the burdens of government is to ask her to neglect her natural functions for a wasteful duplication of effort in a field for which nature did not intend her. The duty of men is to protect women from such wasteful and unnatural burdens. The sexes were created different, and designed to cooperate, not to compete. The ballot is not a panacea. It is merely an instrument of convenience in the transaction of the business of government. Reform begins, not in the ballot box or in the halls of legislation, but in the cradle, in the nursery, in the school, in the church, and around the family fireside. And there, woman without the ballot can do more toward making a better world than anything men and women can possibly accomplish through politics. Suffragists would remould life from the top down. Antisuffragists would mould life from the bottom up.

Woman suffrage violates the basic principle of all government—the principle that the electorate must possess the inherent power to execute its sovereign will expressed in legislation. The gift of the ballot would fail to clothe woman with any real political authority, for the obvious reason that there would be nothing back of the ballot. Law is the expression of sovereignty, and sovereignty rests ultimately upon physical force and upon nothing else. The lawless element is kept from lawlessness, not by statutes, but by fear of men clothed with authority to enforce the law. Women are prohibited by nature from being this law-enforcing power. To create an electorate lacking in the one indispensable element of sovereignty would be to undermine the foundations, not only of government, but of the social order. The woman's ballot would be a blank-cartridge ballot.

We feel that we scarcely need to call to your attention the fact that every socialist and every feminist is an ardent worker in the cause of votes for women; that the Mormon Church claims—and the claim is historically accurate—to have originated the votes for women idea in this country, and that Mormonism and woman suffrage have spread simultaneously over the radical territory of the West until Mormonism owns Utah, has a majority of the population in Idaho, the balance of power in Nevada, Montana, Wyoming, Arizona, New Mexico, and Oregon, and immense influence in Colorado, California, and Washington, every State of which is a woman suffrage State; that only 9 per cent of the people of this country live in double suffrage States; that

woman suffrage has never carried in a single State where a majority of the men were sufficiently alive to its importance to vote upon it; and that in the States which have adopted it only 44 men out of every 100 were recorded on the issue, for and against.

In a word, we believe that the woman-suffrage movement is a delusion—the selfish protest of a discontented few against existing institutions and conventional restraints: that it violates the fundamental principle of democracy in its bold attempt to force the will of a small minority upon the great majority of women: that it is socialistic and feministic in its tendency to make the individual and not the family the unit of society: that it is based on a feeling of sex antagonism and is therefore a menace to the home and to the country: that it is an insult to the men of the United States in its false declaration that they have failed to protect the interests of their wives, sisters, and daughters: that it is unnatural in its dream of a “new sphere” for women, and that it is a distinct injustice to the great mass of women throughout the country, who do not want new burdens thrust upon them. But wish to be left free for the performance of those duties which are their natural inheritance and which must be performed if the race is not to perish.

The CHAIRMAN. There seem to be no other gentlemen who wish to say anything in opposition to this Federal amendment at this time. We will therefore proceed to the consideration of other business.

(Whereupon, at 11.30 o'clock p. m., the hearing in the above-entitled matter was adjourned, and the committee proceeded to the consideration of other business.)









# WOMAN SUFFRAGE

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## HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

## COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SIXTY-FOURTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

## WOMAN SUFFRAGE

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Serial 11—Part 4

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## COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY.

### HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

#### SIXTY-FOURTH CONGRESS.

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## WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

### SERIAL 11—PART 4.

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#### COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, *Thursday, June 1, 1916.*

The committee this day met, Hon. Edwin Y. Webb (chairman) presiding.

THE CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. It is now 25 minutes to 11 o'clock, and I understand there are some Members of Congress here who want to be heard on some matter—I do not know just what—and if we are going to be able to hear them we will have to begin immediately.

MR. RAKER. Quite a number of Members desire to be heard this morning. I have seen them personally, and those who are not here will be here later, as some of them had to go to other committee meetings, but they will be back. I wish to have the names of those who are here this morning and want to be heard before this committee entered in the record. They are: Arizona, Hon. Carl Hayden; California, Hon. Denver S. Church, Hon. Charles H. Randall, Hon. William Kettner, and myself; Colorado, Hon. Benjamin C. Hilliard, Hon. Edward Keating, and Hon. Edward T. Taylor; Illinois, Hon. James T. McDermott, Hon. Adolph J. Sabath, Hon. James McAndrews, Hon. Frank H. Buchanan, Hon. Thomas Gallagher, Hon. Clyde H. Tavenner, Hon. Claudius U. Stone, Hon. Henry T. Rainey,

Hon. Martin D. Foster, and Hon. William Elza Williams (a member of this committee); Kansas, Hon. Joseph Taggart (who is a member of this committee), Hon. Dudley Doolittle, Hon. Guy T. Helvering, Hon. John R. Connelly, Hon. Jouett Shouse, and Hon. William A. Ayres; Montana, Hon. John M. Evans and Hon. Tom Stout; Utah, Hon. James H. Mays; and Washington, Hon. C. C. Dill—making 28 in all. These men are interested in this proposed amendment that is to be taken up by the committee, namely, proposed constitutional amendment, House joint resolution No. 1, now pending before this committee. I would ask that proposed amendment No. 1, being the House joint resolution with which we are all familiar, may be inserted in the record at this point.

The CHAIRMAN. Known as the Susan B. Anthony amendment?

Mr. RAKER. Yes, sir.

(Said joint resolution follows:)

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:*

"ARTICLE —.—SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

I want to say a few words later, but there are gentlemen here who have other committee meetings to attend, and I will ask that they be allowed to make their statements now.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand that no Member cares to speak more than five minutes.

Mr. RAKER. I think that is about the limit. We are anxious to have this resolution reported out by the committee so that it may be placed on the calendar and voted upon by Congress at the earliest time that it may see fit to vote upon it.

The CHAIRMAN. The House meets at 11 o'clock and after that hour we may have a call for tellers at any moment, and if you gentlemen want to get into the record I advise that you be as brief as possible.

Mr. RAKER. We will hear first from Mr. Stout.

#### STATEMENT OF HON. TOM STOUT, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF MONTANA.

Mr. STOUT. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, this matter can be much better presented by gentlemen like my friend from California, Mr. Raker, Mr. Taylor, of Colorado, and others, who have had greater legislative experience than I have had, and I feel that it would be useless for me to take up the valuable time of this committee further than to add my own personal insistence or, rather, to express the hope that this committee may see fit at this session of Congress to submit this question to a vote in the House. I can not conceive of any more important subject than one dealing with the suffrage of millions of citizens of this country. We are daily grappling with great problems here and I think that we

could very well afford the time to include this in line with the others which we have before us for consideration.

It was my privilege and very great pleasure to be the author of the joint resolution providing for women suffrage in my State of Montana. That amendment was adopted by popular vote, it is now in operation, and the women of our State will be accorded the privilege of voting for the first time at a general election at the forthcoming election. I have no doubt in the least but that it is going to justify the very high hopes of all of those who have advocated it from the beginning, and of that number I happen to be one. So that without transgressing any further upon the time of this committee I simply desire to urge that this question be acted upon favorably. It having been so thoroughly discussed and the minds of men having been so well fixed upon the subject I really think it does not require much discussion, but that it does call for action. For one I would be delighted to see some such action by the committee at this time in order that the House may have a fair and square show to vote upon it, and such being the case I feel that we might have the chance of seeing the hopes of so very many people in this country realized.

I thank the committee.

Mr. RAKER. We will next hear from Mr. Shouse, of Kansas.

#### STATEMENT OF HON. JOUETT SHOUSE, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF KANSAS.

Mr. SHOUSE. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I am here because I believe in suffrage, equal suffrage, and full suffrage—suffrage not only by the States but suffrage nationally. As a Democrat, it is a matter of great pride with me that in Kansas the amendment to the Constitution submitting suffrage to the vote of the people was drawn by a Democratic, and it is further a matter of pride with me that in Kansas in 1912, when, for the first time in the history of the State, we elected a Democratic majority in both houses of the legislature, the same votes that elected that Democratic legislature passed the suffrage amendment. We had full suffrage in effect for the first time in 1914, and the interest taken by the women in that election absolutely discredited the arguments that have been made in some States and in some sections of the country that women will not vote if given the opportunity. More than 50 per cent of the women of Kansas voted in 1914, the first year they had an opportunity to enjoy full suffrage.

In my State it is no longer a question of argument; no longer a question open to discussion; it is agreed generally, even by those who had previously opposed it, that suffrage has been a success thus far in Kansas, and there is every reason to believe that it will continue to be a success there. Those of us who come from suffrage States can see no good reason why the suffrage amendment should not be put up to the House. I have no desire to transgress in any sense upon the authority of this committee. I know its intentions are good; I know that what it does it will do from a sense of justice and a sense of right, but I very much hope that the committee may see its way clear to report this amendment out so that we may have action at this session of Congress.

Mr. RAKER. We will next hear from Mr. Taylor, of Colorado.



**STATEMENT OF HON. EDWARD T. TAYLOR, A REPRESENTATIVE  
IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF COLORADO.**

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I will only take a few moments of your time, as I understand there are a number of gentlemen who desire to address you, and that the hearing is confined to this morning's session.

I have addressed this committee at length heretofore and spoken several times in Congress—once at great length—in behalf of equal suffrage, so that everyone knows my position on this subject.

The question, as I understand it, before the committee is not the discussion generally of woman suffrage, but is solely confined to the question of the advisability of reporting out by this committee of the Susan B. Anthony constitutional amendment.

Personally, I think your committee ought to report it out; no matter whether the report is unanimous or divided, I think it ought to be presented to the House. After it is on the calendar, then it is for the House to determine under its rules as to when and what action will be taken upon it. It is one of the great live and growing questions before the American people to-day. There is no more important question before the country—in fact, before the entire world, aside from the European war—than the question of the right of women to exercise the franchise, and I do not think that any committee, and especially a committee controlled by a majority of Democrats, should prevent a matter of this kind from being put up to the House for its determination.

As a matter of fact, neither our party nor any party, much less any committee, can keep this question back very long, because it is progressing all over the country. The sentiment is growing; it is a forward movement; and just as sure as the night follows the day it is only a question of a little time before the women of this country will be given this right.

But, be that as it may, the question this committee has to determine is whether or not it will give the House an opportunity of expressing itself upon the subject, and I do not think you are justified in declining to do so, no matter what kind of a report the committee makes. Of course, each member of the committee will and should express himself in the report.

The CHAIRMAN. Is not the Democratic Party the only party which in the last 15 years has given a vote upon the woman suffrage amendment in the House?

Mr. TAGGART. It is the only one that ever did.

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes; and we have as a party made a splendid record on this question—much better than the Republican Party ever did when it was in power—and therefore I do not feel that we ought to take any backward step.

Mr. TAGGART. You appreciate the fact that certain people are organizing for the purpose of defeating the party which really gave an opportunity to vote on it?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes. I was somewhat chagrined and disgusted when I went home just before election two years ago to find when I was passing through the city of Leadville a woman representing one of these Washington organizations making a stump speech against me, when I had been working and talking and voting for woman suffrage

ever since before she was born. At the same time there is this to be said in behalf of the good judgment, good sense, and fairness of the women of this country, especially in Colorado, and that is that the speeches made against us did not turn a vote in that State.

Mr. TAGGART. They made votes, did they not?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes; I think so; if they had any effect.

Mr. TAGGART. You got more votes than you ever did?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes; my majority was nearly 12,000 in my district; I carried every one of the 23 counties in my district, and I never made a speech in any one of them during that campaign. If somebody from Washington City could come out into my State and just make a speech and turn a lot of our women to vote against us men who have championed their cause for years, then we might feel that they were fickle. But when imported speakers came there and made speeches and cut no figure whatever against either Senator Thomas, Mr. Keating, Mr. Hilliard, or any of the rest of us, I think it demonstrates that the women who have the vote exercise good judgment and are thoroughly capable of very intelligent action for themselves. Those ladies had absolutely nothing whatever to do with the defeat of Mr. Seldomridge; he was defeated by reason of the redistricting of the State; he was placed in a district that was made largely Republican, and it was impossible for him to be reelected. I am not at all afraid of the women of Colorado voting against their friends. They have been voting for over 20 years, and they have too much good sense to be fooled by anybody.

Mr. NELSON. If they desired the House to be Republican, how would you expect them to attack the representatives of your party except by seeking to secure votes against its representatives?

Mr. TAYLOR. My idea is that this question is not a political matter at all, and that they have no business trying to make it political. I believe they hurt their cause by doing it. I do not question their honesty or enthusiasm, but I doubt their political judgment in attacking their friends.

Mr. TAGGART. Let me say that Senator Dillingham, of Vermont, introduced in the Senate and had published at public expense the vilest and most bitter attack on woman suffrage that was ever written, and he recommended it as the strongest thing that he was able to find. While he is looking after New England, they will go out again in the West and they will cooperate with Senator Dillingham; while he is doing things to Wilson in the Northeast they are going to do things to Wilson up in the Northwest, and there must be an understanding between them and Dillingham.

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I do not think that our action ought to be controlled or even influenced by what any local organization here in Washington does; I feel that that ought not to be considered at all. There is a set of women here who appear to be very enthusiastic in their work, and I respect them, in a way, although I do not agree with their judgment at all. But that does not affect the principle, and ought not to affect the action of this committee; that does not affect the great evolution that is coming in this country, and I feel that we ought not to allow any pique or feeling of disgust to affect us in this matter. In my judgment, your committee should pass this question up to the House to decide.

But I do not want to take up the time of the committee any further. I know that the good women of Colorado would be delighted to have this committee favorably report this amendment in order to give the House a chance to vote upon it. I say that I am the author of House resolution No. 6, introduced on the 6th of last December, the first day of this session, and that resolution is the same as the so-called Susan B. Anthony amendment. I have introduced it in every Congress for eight years.

Mr. CARAWAY. You have suffrage in Colorado?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes, sir; and we have had it for 23 years.

Mr. CARAWAY. You would bitterly resent it if we tried to take it away from you?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes, sir; we certainly would.

Mr. CARAWAY. So far as I am concerned I do not believe the people of my State want woman suffrage, and that being so why should you want to thrust it upon us?

Mr. TAYLOR. We do not want to thrust it upon you, but I feel we ought to let the American people have a vote on it.

Mr. CARAWAY. There are American people in each State, are there not?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes, sir.

Mr. CARAWAY. This resolution looks to your State thrusting it upon New York and Pennsylvania, after a majority of the voters in those States have shown that they do not want it.

Mr. TAYLOR. Well, that is our system of Government. When three-fourths of all our States want a constitutional amendment, they have the right to see whether that desire will be ratified by the votes of the people, and I do not believe we ought to prevent that chance being given to them.

Mr. CARAWAY. Then three-fourths have as much right to take it away from you as you have to thrust it upon the others?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes; but there is not the slightest possibility of the right of suffrage ever being taken away from any women to whom it is ever given.

Mr. CARAWAY. You would not be willing to have them do that?

Mr. TAYLOR. Well, we are willing to take our chances and pass this matter up to a vote of the American people. However, my main thought about the matter is this: There is no question about this right coming; it is coming just as surely as the human race is progressing. Whether it comes in 10 years or 20 years depends a great deal, of course, upon public sentiment. Every year more States are adopting it.

Mr. WILLIAMS. In the event that the Democratic convention in its platform declares in favor of the adoption of woman suffrage by the States and declares that it is not a Federal question I presume that attitude of the party would be your attitude?

Mr. TAYLOR. Well, we would naturally have to take the consequences of our own party platform and the Republicans will have to do the same. No one can tell what the national conventions will do; but I apprehend that the vote on the floor of the House on this amendment will be somewhat controlled, as far as the Democrats are concerned, by our national platform. If that is the policy adopted a majority will probably vote to carry out that policy, and

if the Republican Party should adopt the same sort of a plank the chances are that the Republicans will do the same thing.

Mr. WILLIAMS. What would you say about the wisdom of postponing action by this committee until after the national conventions have been held, when Members of the House will know what the attitude of their party is?

Mr. TAYLOR. It might be wise for the House to postpone voting on it until after the conventions are over—that will only be a short delay—but I do not see that that is a reason for preventing this committee from reporting the bill, and then give all the Members an opportunity to express themselves in accordance with the platforms of their parties and the wishes of their constituents.

I thank the committee for this hearing and earnestly hope you will report the amendment.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Ayres will be the next speaker.

### STATEMENT OF HON. WILLIAM A. AYRES, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF KANSAS.

Mr. AYRES. Owing to the fact that I have to go I will be very brief. All I have to say is this: As my colleague, Mr. Shouse, has said, we are very proud of the fact that we have equal suffrage in our State. We are very proud of the fact that the only times this proposition has been submitted to the people of that State it has been by the Democratic and Populist legislatures. In 1896 it was submitted for the first time, and later it was submitted—

Mr. TAGGART (interposing). In the whole history of woman suffrage the question has never been submitted except by a Democratic legislature.

Mr. AYRES. The fact is that the Republican Party was in power continuously in the State of Kansas for almost a half century, yet no effort was made to bring this about in the State. We feel that as a party we have been benefited by it. The women of the State of Kansas do not vote as their husbands dictate by any means: if so, there would not be six Democratic Congressmen here, because each of us has an overwhelming Republican majority in our districts. We all know that many good women went out and voted for us and that their husbands voted against us. As a matter of fact, I think they are more intelligent voters than the men; I mean they are not prejudiced; they are not partisan; they have not been drawn into such contests for years and years and, therefore, they feel more independent. They will vote as they see fit, and they are not bound by party prejudices.

For my own part I would be very glad to see this matter submitted at this particular time. I would like to vote on it, because I have believed in it for the last 20 years. I am not a recent convert, although I do not take the credit upon myself. I was influenced by one who has a good deal of influence over me and converted to the cause.

Some one has said that we do not know what the Republican Party will do at its convention. I can tell you exactly what it will do if Mr. Roosevelt controls that convention, which he probably will. There will be a plank in their platform which will promise anything on earth that the women or anybody else want, whether

he ever expects to carry out the promises made or not. So you may expect such a plank in the Republican platform.

Mr. VOLSTEAD. Do you not think he would be as likely to carry out his promise in reference to this matter as the Democratic Party?

Mr. AYERS. I do not think so. He was in office for seven and a half years, but I do not think he ever referred to the question of woman suffrage while he was President of the United States. It was only when he became a candidate and wanted their votes that he was ready to advocate woman suffrage. And you will find him doing so again at the Republican convention. You gentlemen may as well expect to have such a plank in the Republican platform if Mr. Roosevelt controls the convention, and, as I have said, he is very likely to do so.

I am hoping that you will report this resolution; I would like to vote on it and would like to go on record.

Mr. RAKER. We will next hear from Mr. Keating, of Colorado.

**STATEMENT OF HON. EDWARD KEATING, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF COLORADO.**

Mr. KEATING. It is necessary for me to be on the floor of the House in a few minutes, and I merely want to enter an appearance here this morning and to express the hope that the committee will report the Susan B. Anthony resolution to the House in order that we may have an opportunity to vote on it.

I do not consider the question of woman suffrage a partisan question, and it has never been a partisan issue in this country. The Republican Party and the Democratic Party have divided upon the question, as they did in the last Congress and as they would in this Congress if the matter should come before it.

So far as the people of suffrage States are concerned, there is sentiment there in favor of securing a vote on this question in this Congress, and I am sure that Members who are here representing Western States are representing their people, without regard to party affiliations, when they ask you to report this resolution and give the Members an opportunity to vote on it.

I think it is a little unfortunate that so much emphasis has been laid on the Congressional Union movement. As a matter of fact, the oldest, largest, and by far the most influential organization advocating equal suffrage is the National Woman Suffrage organization. It has always conducted a nonpartisan campaign and it has never been offensive either to Republicans, Democrats, or Progressives. However, the younger organization is opposing Democracy. That is the privilege of the members of that organization, but it should not influence any member of this committee or any Member of the House in casting his vote on this question of woman suffrage. I hope you gentlemen will do us the favor of reporting out this resolution so that we may have a vote on it in the House.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you not know that it is impossible, even if the resolution were reported to-morrow and voted on, to pass it through the House?

Mr. KEATING. I have no means of knowing what the vote will be on that, Mr. Chairman, but it is entirely possible that the chairman is right.

The CHAIRMAN. In the last Congress, as you remember, it fell 30 short of a majority.

Mr. KEATING. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you know it takes two-thirds to pass this amendment through the House, and many of us are convinced that if the resolution should be reported out and voted on it would fail. It is just like taking a horse out of a stable and putting him right back again.

With the tremendously important measures that we are trying to pass through Congress, so that we can get through and the Members go back to their districts, it looks to many of us as though it would be a useless thing to report the resolution.

Mr. KEATING. However, it would respond, in my judgment, to a very respectable public sentiment.

The CHAIRMAN. I agree that the public sentiment is respectable, but public sentiment does not want to do a vain and useless thing. If you want a vote, so far as I am concerned you can have it at this Congress but not at this session. I am willing to have a vote next fall or next February when we will not have this important program pressing us for action. If you want to tag Members of Congress and see how they vote, so that they can be criticized or praised, I am willing to do that. But I have no notion that it could pass the House, and I do not think that the most ardent advocate of woman suffrage would claim that it could possibly pass at this session of Congress. We are all practical legislators and we want to work out these questions in a practical way. As far as I am concerned—and I think that is true of each member of the committee—if I felt that even a majority of the House of Representatives wanted to vote on this question I would not feel that I should stand in the way of giving the Members a chance to vote. But believing that a majority of the House is against the resolution, I can not for the life of me see the reason why, at the present time and under the present conditions, we should force this resolution now, having two or three days spent in discussing it, voting upon it and sending it right back. Then, I suppose you would want another vote next December, and thus keep the thing going. I think you should have a vote in the next session of Congress, but I do not see any practical benefit that could come from a vote now. If I were an enemy of woman suffrage, a bitter enemy, I would be the first to vote this resolution out and let it get on the floor of the House and have it defeated by a larger vote, in my opinion, than it was a year ago, thus giving the enemies of woman suffrage an opportunity to say, in view of the Massachusetts vote, the New York vote, and the New Jersey vote, that woman suffrage is going and not coming.

Mr. KEATING. May I suggest to the chairman that the vote in Massachusetts, and particularly the vote in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and New York, does not indicate that woman suffrage is going, but on the contrary that it is coming.

The CHAIRMAN. I was using the arguments of the opponents of woman suffrage.

Mr. KEATING. The Members who have come here representing equal suffrage constituencies, as you might describe them, feel that they owe this to those constituencies. There is a sentiment in our

districts which would be pleased if you could give us a vote on this amendment at this session.

The CHAIRMAN. The chairman understands all that very fully.

Mr. KEATING. I believe we could dispose of it in one day if we were given an opportunity to vote.

Mr. RAKER. We will next hear from Mr. Hayden.

**STATEMENT OF HON. CARL HAYDEN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF ARIZONA.**

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. Chairman, my remarks will be brief, because I realize that the committee can not remain in session very long. I understand the parliamentary situation to be that on March 28 the committee voted to indefinitely postpone the consideration of all constitutional amendments. In order that there might be an equal-suffrage resolution before you, on March 29 I introduced House joint resolution 195, which is the Susan B. Anthony amendment. I introduced this resolution in good faith, because I firmly believe that all women are of right entitled to the ballot.

I am addressing you at this time in response to what I believe to be the sentiment of a majority of my constituents, namely, that the House should have a vote on women suffrage. Therefore I ask this committee to favorably report my resolution, have it placed on the calendar, and give the Members an opportunity to record their views on this great question. I am not asking this in any partisan sense or in the hope of party advantage, because I am well aware that equal suffrage has always been and should remain a nonpartisan issue. When equal suffrage was adopted in Arizona it was indorsed in the platforms of all the political parties. Within the last few weeks, at the meetings where delegates were elected to the national conventions of the Democratic, Progressive, and Republican Parties, resolutions were unanimously adopted urging Congress to submit the Susan B. Anthony amendment to the legislatures of the several States for ratification as a part of the Constitution of the United States. The attitude of all the political parties in Arizona, therefore, does not permit me to speak to you merely as a Democrat seeking to benefit my party. I hold a better commission than that, because I know that I am truly representing the great majority of the citizens of my State when I urge you to advance a reform which has their earnest support.

I do not believe that because an attempt has been made by certain friends of equal suffrage, whether wise or unwise, to make this a party question that their action should in any way influence your decision. When your committee acts upon this resolution it should be considered solely upon the basis of whether equal suffrage is right. If you agree that women are rightfully entitled to vote, then the Members of the House ought to be given an early opportunity to say whether it is expedient to submit a woman-suffrage amendment to the States for ratification at this time. To my mind both justice and expediency will be served when this committee favorably report the Susan B. Anthony amendment to the House.

Mr. RAKER. We will hear from Mr. Doolittle, of Kansas.

**STATEMENT OF HON. DUDLEY DOOLITTLE, A REPRESENTATIVE  
IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF KANSAS.**

Mr. DOOLITTLE. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, a while ago I was impressed by the question propounded by some member of the committee, I believe, Mr. Williams, as to advisability of voting on this amendment at this time or waiting until after the national conventions adopt their platforms. That brings another argument to my mind why we should vote on the amendment on the floor of the House at this time, namely, it will give the national conventions an opportunity to see the sentiment of the House of Representatives, the representatives of the people of the country, and it might have some influence on the conventions to insert a national suffrage plank in the platforms, and I should think it would be the best thing to vote on it before that time and not afterwards. I am very much in hope, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, that this Susan B. Anthony amendment may be favorably reported by this committee, thus giving the House an opportunity to vote on it, so it may in turn be submitted to the different States for their approval or rejection. I have never been able to find any good argument against woman suffrage, and I do not believe that the right of suffrage—as a matter of fact I know it is not in Kansas—for women is open to serious debate. It is a success, and I am very much in hopes that our people will have no occasion to change their views about it. I trust that such action will be taken by the committee as to furnish no ground for the belief that the Democratic Party, which is the party in power and, therefore, the responsible party, will shut out the present consideration of this matter.

The CHAIRMAN. I can assure you that when the vote was taken to postpone this amendment and the prohibition amendment, the committee divided, the Republicans and Democrats voting one way together and the Republicans and Democrats voting the other way together. It was not made a party question and never has been and, as far as I am concerned, never will be.

Mr. DOOLITTLE. I am absolutely certain that the chairman is correct and my understanding is correct, but the impression has gotten out that the Democrats, at least those in control of this proposed amendment, are opposed to it, and that the Republicans are favorable to it. I know that is not a fact, and I want to prove it to the people.

Mr. VOLSTEAD. In view of certain statements made by Mr. Taggart, I would like very much to put in the record a few facts in connection with the passage of these amendments in the various States. He claimed that they were all passed by Democrats—

Mr. TAGGART (interposing). I mean Democratic legislatures.

Mr. VOLSTEAD. Well, I am willing to take it even that way, although you did not put it in that form.

Mr. TAGGART. I do not mean to say solely by partisan votes.

Mr. VOLSTEAD. As a matter of fact, the States that have gone for woman suffrage have largely been Republican States. Northern States, and Western States, and in States that have nearly always been Republican. I just wanted an opportunity to clear the record, and I did not want to let that statement go unchallenged.



Mr. TAGGART. Let me put this in the record so that I will be understood by the gentleman from Minnesota. There has not been a partisan two-thirds majority in the House of Representatives and the Senate both at the same time since 1873; there is no amendment that could have been passed in the last 40 years by a two-thirds party vote in both Houses of Congress. All amendments that have passed during that time have been passed by a nonpartisan vote. Everywhere that suffrage originated in any legislature it originated in the legislature by a nonpartisan vote, but it happened, I think, in nearly all of the cases, that the majority in those legislatures was Democratic. I have received a telegram from Wyoming stating with pride the fact that a Democratic legislature of that State there was the pioneer legislature in originating woman suffrage in the United States. Now, it is a nonpartisan question, and it must necessarily be so. If it passes this House it will pass by a nonpartisan vote, and in attempting to make it a partisan question an injury is being done to the cause.

I voted to report the amendment to the House in the last Congress and I voted for it on the floor of the House. I was the first man from my district who ever voted for it, and the reward I have received for voting for it is that there is an organization claiming to have accumulated \$137,000, and that that sum is going to be used for the defeat of not only Democratic Members who voted for it but the Democratic candidate for President. We can respect those people who look at it in a sensible light, regardless of party, but opposition either way should not be made a party question, because suffrage has never been carried forward successfully in any State of the Union as a party issue.

Mr. RAKER. We will now hear from Mr. Church. It is always well to have the churches with us on all great questions.

**STATEMENT OF HON. DENVER S. CHURCH, A REPRESENTATIVE  
IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA.**

Mr. CHURCH. Some people never come in contact with a church of any kind only as they come in contact with me.

Mr. GRAHAM. That may account for some of the remarks that have been made here this morning.

Mr. CARAWAY. Is that the reason they so seldom go to church?

Mr. CHURCH. All I can say is that some of you are in arrears with your pew rents.

I will only say a word and I am sure you will be pleased at my brevity. I am in favor of this amendment and my people in California are in favor of it. They have tried equal suffrage there and they like it. This is a question that is being agitated all over the United States; it is a question that every State in the Union is interested in, and when a question gets to the point where all the States of the Union are interested and there is general agitation throughout all the States, I suppose it is then time, if not before, to submit it to a vote of the people for constitutional amendment. This proposition of equal suffrage has come to stay; it does not take a prophet nor the son of a prophet to predict that. It has to be settled some time and it has to be settled right, and the question is, why not settle it now?

Mr. RAKER. We will next hear from Mr. Hilliard, of Denver, Colo.

**STATEMENT OF HON. BENJAMIN C. HILLIARD, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF COLORADO.**

Mr. HILLIARD. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I would incidentally call attention to the fact that we not only have a Church with us, but we have a Denver Church. Denver is engaged in doing good everywhere. (Humorous allusion to Hon. Denver S. Church, of California, who had just addressed the committee.) I want to take only a brief moment of the committee's time. I believe in woman suffrage for the same reason that I believe in man suffrage. I do not subscribe to the doctrine that women are greater or better than men. I think we are all just people, but the great truth in this world is that men have not yet been able to solve the problems; that there are so many things yet to be done; so many things that men alone have not been able to see, understand, and remedy, notwithstanding they have had the right to vote, that additional wisdom should be welcomed.

Therefore I favor adding the women to the sum total of those who may vote, that they may contribute not alone to present questions, but, along with men, prepare for the proper solution of the greater problems of the future. In Colorado we have had suffrage for a long time, almost the longest. A couple of States have had it longer than Colorado. We believe it is a success; we know it is a success. We know that the women take a proper interest in matters political; that they are able to determine right from wrong and that they often manifest a much greater courage than men do in determining questions that are absolutely essential in the development of this great country and the world. For my part I certainly hope that the committee will find it consistent with its duty to report the resolution.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Dill, of Washington, will now address the committee.

**STATEMENT OF HON. C. C. DILL, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF WASHINGTON.**

Mr. DILL. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I am glad to come here as a Representative of a State that has suffrage and urge that the committee, if possible, have this amendment upon the calendar some time before this session adjourns that we may vote upon it. I do that because the people of my district and State are strongly in favor of woman suffrage, and for the further reason that in my campaign I pledged myself to do everything I could to have this amendment reported and have it voted upon. I have no sympathy with this talk about its being made a party proposition and I think I am a living proof of the fact that the party proposition does not go very far. I come from a district that is strongly Republican, and certain ladies who, in my judgment, are greatly misguided in their methods of working for suffrage, came out there and made a special fight against me because they said I was a Democrat

and because they said certain gentlemen down here in Washington who were Democrats had not reported out the suffrage amendment at the proper time.

They sent broadcast, you might say, their speeches and their advertisements against me, not because I was not for woman suffrage, but because I was a Democrat. They disregarded the fact that I had always worked for woman suffrage and had voted for it, yet I was elected by a plurality of more than 4,000 in spite of their attacks. Even since my election and since I have talked to some of you men urging this amendment, this same crowd of women have had a representative in my State attacking me. But regardless of that I am here in the interest of woman suffrage. I want to say further that these women who claim that they control such a tremendous number of women voters in States where woman suffrage exists and who set themselves up self-appointed leaders make unfounded claims. I do not believe they can do anything of the kind. They may have control of some votes; they may have enough votes to turn the tables in a State where 150 votes would make a difference. But the great mass of women who vote are just like the great mass of men who vote; they have good common sense and they vote according to their judgment. They do not allow one little crowd of women, who are misguided in their efforts, to entirely change their minds so as not to give fair consideration to other large public questions.

Mr. TAGGART. In other words, the women in your State, as in my State, do not get their opinions from tourists?

Mr. DILL. No; and they do not get their opinions from self-appointed suffrage leaders.

Mr. TAGGART. Nor from people in the great cities of the East?

Mr. DILL. No; not from great cities in the East at all. If this woman-suffrage proposition has done anything in my State, it has put an end to what we call the suffragettes; we do not have them. In fact, the effect of suffrage has been excellent. The women in my State vote about the same as men vote. They vote sensibly and pay little attention to the women who try to set up something merely as a woman proposition. The only time I have seen women lined up together has been on certain moral questions which have come up in the cities. I have seen them lined up on questions of that sort, and rightly so, but the idea that you can line the women up by hundreds of thousands on what they term a party issue just because certain men who happen to be connected with the party they oppose don't do what they want is erroneous and ridiculous. But, after all that is said, the proposition comes back to the fact that there is a great public demand in this country for woman suffrage.

I think there is much to be said in favor of the argument that suffrage is a right that should be given through the National Government to a large extent. I think that the women make a just claim in saying that the National Government should act upon the question. For that reason I want to urge just as strongly as I can that you gentlemen reconsider this amendment and report it to the House, so we can vote upon it at this session. It will hurt nobody, and I believe will meet the approval of the country. So I say again I hope the committee may be able to favorably report the amendment, so we can

vote on it in the House at this session, if possible, or at least in this Congress.

Mr. RAKER. We will next hear from Mr. Evans, of Montana.

**STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN M. EVANS, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF MONTANA.**

Mr. EVANS. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, the question of woman suffrage in my State has come along so rapidly that possibly my vision has been warped a little bit on what ought to be done on the subject. When the matter first came before our people years ago it was looked on as a good deal of a joke. In the assembly at that time the proposition got two votes out of 150, or maybe 100; two years afterwards the matter came back to the legislature and it lacked only two votes of having a majority; two years afterwards the matter came back to the legislature and it got all but two votes in the legislature. In a period of six years the whole public sentiment of that State had been changed on that question.

Mr. NELSON. How do you account for that remarkable change in such a short time?

Mr. EVANS. We have a lot of active women there—local women, fine, upstanding women; and we had some bad politics in the State—and we believed that possibly if we got good women voting there it would clarify our politics, and it did, particularly in local matters, questions of morality, and so on.

Mr. CARAWAY. Do you not think it is a slander on the men of your State to say that they were so morally bad that they had to bring the women in to clarify and purify the politics of the State?

Mr. EVANS. I do not think it is a slander; no.

Mr. CARAWAY. It certainly is not a good advertisement for them.

Mr. EVANS. I do not know what the conditions are in your State, but if you know anything about politics you know that sometimes in local matters there are influences at work which control the election of all the minor offices, the so-called immoral interests and the other interests that surround them. It was the women who put those people out of control of such affairs.

Mr. CARAWAY. Your proposition is that you needed the women to put a certain class of people out of control?

Mr. EVANS. We did need the women to help us do that, yes; and much good has resulted from the fact that women have suffrage in our State.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Do you not think that women are stronger on all moral questions than the men?

Mr. EVANS. I think so; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Everybody knows that the larger percentage of the women is good.

Mr. EVANS. I am willing to confess that is true. In my State no political party ever adopted a platform for woman suffrage until four years ago. In the Democratic convention, the first convention in which we had a contest over it, I was for suffrage. I would like to have you pardon the use of the personal pronoun, but I made a fight on the floor of the convention for it and had the convention adopt a platform for woman suffrage, and every convention in the

State immediately followed. They knew they had to if they met with any success. They did follow, so that we out there are for woman suffrage; every single platform has included it. As I have told you, it got every vote but two in the legislature; we then submitted it to the people and the amendment carried overwhelmingly last fall.

Mr. CARAWAY. I can not understand why it was necessary to have the women help purify politics if such an overwhelming majority of the men were susceptible to this influence. Why could not the men have purified politics without the interference of the women?

Mr. EVANS. Well, it was the result of the development of that sentiment and because I think we were making some progress in the northwest. I do not know about other sections of the country, but I know we are progressing out there. The suggestion has been made that this has been made the subject of party politics and some of us feel some little resentment toward somebody who comes out and makes a fight against those of us who have been in favor of women suffrage simply because we are members of the Democratic Party. If you will pardon the use of the personal pronoun let me say again that I made a fight in the convention for the carrying of this proposition in the platform and my colleague, Mr. Stout, who is with me, introduced the resolution in the legislature that carried the constitutional amendment. So the two of us have had something to do with the granting of woman suffrage in Montana. Now, they tell me that some of the members of the Congressional Union are against me, and in that connection I am reminded of a story told about an Irishman who was captured by Indians in the early days. They tied the Irishman up to a tree, danced war dances around him, jabbed knives into him and drank his blood. The Irishman finally said, "I do not give a blankety-blank about your kiy-ing, but I do not like to be stuck for the drinks every time."

It seems to me that if a few women are going to make fights against members of the Democratic Party they are not going to meet with much success, or if they make fights against members of any other party. The majority of the women are going to vote for those men who will best serve their country, the United States of America, and they are not so very much concerned with anything else, no matter what party the man may represent. I can appreciate that some of the gentlemen from southern districts have territorial conditions that are not like ours and they may not want this matter. However, I am confident it is a matter that should be passed. I think we want to be fair with ourselves and with our country, and for one I am in favor of reporting the resolution, and as long as I am here I shall continue to urge a vote on the proposition and will keep working to that end until it becomes a law.

#### STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN E. RAKER, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA.

Mr. RAKER. May I proceed for a few moments? In addition to what the other gentlemen have said upon this matter, I would like to add a few remarks. Personally, I have never believed and do not now believe that this is a party question. It is a political question.

but not a party question, and should not be considered in that light. This amendment can not be adopted by the House or by the Senate without votes from the other side. We ought to have them and we ought to get them. My view of the matter is that a question of importance ought to be considered and ought to be voted upon. The representatives of a free country ought to have the opportunity to express their judgment for or against every important proposition that comes before the Congress of the United States. To my mind, there is no more important question, no more living question, before the American people to-day than this question of permitting one-half of the citizenship of this country to exercise the right of franchise. The idea of this Government is that men and women may use their own individualities and use their God-given powers to maintain the Government for themselves and for those who follow them in a condition better than it has existed in the past.

I have seen much of the literature sent out by the antisuffragists. I received a pamphlet the other day, took it home, and read it, and I want to say to you that there is not one word in that pamphlet or in **any other pamphlet that has been circulated against woman's right to vote** or their conduct after having been given the right to vote that is true. It has been demonstrated by the conduct of the women and their success, their patriotism, their knowledge of the law, that no mistake was made in giving them that right to vote. Woman suffrage has been a success in the State of California, where the right to vote has been granted to the women, so that they might participate in elections at the polls together with their fathers, their brothers, and their husbands.

An amendment to the Constitution should be submitted to the people whenever there is a reasonable public sentiment in favor of it. To-day we have 11 suffrage States; we have some 4,000,000 women who vote; and it seems to me that every indication points to a reasonable public sentiment in favor of this amendment.

Some misunderstanding has been brought about—I do not know just how—as to the result of the voting in the States of New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey. It has been suggested that this proposition has been absolutely turned down in those States, but we have only to read the record to find that the suffrage amendment in the State of Pennsylvania received more votes than Mr. Roosevelt received for President; that in the State of Massachusetts it received more votes than Mr. Roosevelt for President; that in New Jersey the same thing happened, and that it received more votes than Mr. Taft for President. It received a larger percentage of votes in those States than did Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Taft, or the man who now occupies the White House, of whom we are so proud. Let me read you the record as to that. In those three States there were 1,225,621 votes cast for woman suffrage and only—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). From what are you reading?

Mr. RAKER (continuing). For the President of the United States, 1,402,791 votes cast.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you get those statistics?

Mr. RAKER. I am reading from the Woman's Journal of January 1, 1916, and I have verified these figures, which I would like to put in the record.

(The matter referred to is as follows:)

State.	For.	Against.	Majority.	Per cent favorable.
New York <sup>1</sup> .....	544,457	732,770	188,313	42.63
Pennsylvania.....	385,348	441,034	55,686	46.63
Massachusetts.....	162,615	265,702	133,087	35.48
New Jersey.....	133,201	184,474	51,273	41.93
Total.....	1,225,621	1,653,980	428,361	42.56

<sup>1</sup> One county missing.

The vote for suffrage in these States, compared with the vote for Taft in 1912, is as follows:

State.	For suffrage.	For Taft.	Per cent for suffrage.	Per cent for Taft.
New York <sup>1</sup> .....	544,457	455,428	42.63	28.68
Pennsylvania.....	385,348	278,306	46.63	22.39
Massachusetts.....	162,615	155,948	35.48	41.95
New Jersey.....	133,201	88,535	41.93	26.54
Total.....	1,225,621	973,516	42.56	26.10

<sup>1</sup> One county missing.

The vote for equal suffrage, compared with the vote for Roosevelt in 1912, is as follows:

State.	For suffrage.	For Roosevelt.	Per cent for suffrage.	Per cent for Roosevelt.
New York <sup>1</sup> .....	544,457	399,021	42.63	24.57
Pennsylvania.....	385,348	447,426	46.63	36.67
Massachusetts.....	162,615	142,228	35.48	29.14
New Jersey.....	133,201	145,410	41.93	33.62
Total.....	1,225,621	1,125,085	42.56	30.17

<sup>1</sup> One county missing.

Compared with the vote for Wilson in 1912, the vote for suffrage is as follows:

State.	For suffrage.	For Wilson.	Per cent for suffrage.	Per cent for Wilson.
New York <sup>1</sup> .....	544,457	655,475	42.63	41.28
Pennsylvania.....	385,348	395,619	46.63	32.42
Massachusetts.....	162,615	173,408	35.48	35.53
New Jersey.....	133,201	178,289	41.93	41.22
Total.....	1,225,621	1,402,791	42.56	37.62

<sup>1</sup> One county missing.

In those States woman suffrage received a total of 42 per cent, while the President of the United States received only 27 per cent of all the votes cast at that time. Those are the States in which they now say the question has been absolutely settled, yet they are re-submitting the question to the people. In no State of this Union has the proposition been carried the first time.

Mr. CARAWAY. Do you think it is going to be carried in those States?

Mr. RAKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. CARAWAY. Then what is the use of reporting out this amendment?

Mr. RAKER. Answering the gentleman's question, I will say that it is a right which belongs to half of our citizens, whose right to vote is just as good as mine. Simply because by virtue of some legislative action men have assumed the power to vote and the control of voting is no reason why that condition should continue to exist and that the right should not be extended to the women of this country. Let me say this to you, that in certain sections of Canada, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba, they have granted woman suffrage, and we believe that the women of this country are entitled to suffrage.

Mr. NELSON. And the same is true of Alberta.

Mr. RAKER. Yes; Alberta has also granted the right of suffrage to the women. I want to say to you gentlemen that this is not a new matter to me. For 30 years I have lived in a family that has been interested in and worked for the cause. I have heard men criticize and say there was nothing in it, and yet, when the right of suffrage was granted to the women, those men who stood around the street corners and jeered and scoffed were among the very first to say they were always for suffrage, simply because they wanted the support and votes of the women. Women vote as intelligently as do the majority of the men; they are careful; they are painstaking; they are interested in this country the same as you are interested in it. I have listened to the arguments, read them, and studied them, but have never yet been able to really fully find an argument that could be made against the right of women to vote. On the contrary, I have found from experience that all of the arguments are fallacious.

Mr. WILLIAMS. There is no use or arguing that branch of the question. The matter in which the committee is interested is as to the wisdom of reporting this resolution at this time.

Mr. RAKER. All right; I am glad you have suggested that to me.

Mr. GRAHAM. When a State has given a large majority against woman suffrage and a man's district has given a large majority against woman suffrage, and that man, as a Representative, is asked to vote for a resolution that would tend to thrust upon his State and his district, against their wishes, the right of woman suffrage, what is the duty of the Representative under those circumstances?

Mr. RAKER. In answering the question directly; as I understand it, this is a representative form of government, and the only way we can secure laws that the people want is to submit them in the regular course when we believe there is a sufficient sentiment—a good, honest sentiment—for them, in order that they may vote upon those questions.

Mr. GRAHAM. That is begging the question.

Mr. RAKER. No.

Mr. GRAHAM. I asked you this question: What is the duty of a Representative under this representative form of government under such a state of facts? Is he to represent his district and his State or what?

Mr. RAKER. I would say yes, that it is his duty to vote, to let the people determine it by their votes.



Mr. GRAHAM. You would have him do that in the face of the vote of his people against the proposition?

Mr. RAKER. But his people have not settled the constitutional proposition; only from 30 to 40 per cent of them have voted; the majority have never voted, and they have never said to him that this question should not be resubmitted, but, on the contrary, we see States time and time again having the question resubmitted to the people.

Mr. GRAHAM. Is not that the right way to do it—have it determined by the people of the States, and not by an amendment to the Constitution of the United States?

Mr. RAKER. I would like to take a lot of time on that, but I can not. I have heard constitutional lawyers say—and I would not like to put up my judgment against their judgment—that there are no rights reserved to the States which can not be taken from them by reason of their consenting to the Constitution; that there are no rights reserved to the States but what two-thirds of the States can yield to the Federal Government and let the Federal Government control them, and when that is done they become national questions.

Mr. GRAHAM. That is still beggiig my question. You have not answered the proposition of duty. What is the duty of a Representative in representing his State and his district under such circumstances?

Mr. RAKER. As I see it and as I understand it, I candidly believe that when there is a public sentiment in the United States in favor of a proposition, and although my district and my State may vote against it, that it would be my duty to see that the people of this country have the right to have it submitted to them from a national standpoint; that such a proposition should be submitted to the various States to see what they will do in the matter.

Mr. CARAWAY. Do you not think it leads to the conclusion that the States ought to be abolished and just let us have a National Government and no State governments?

Mr. RAKER. No. I stated that and will state it again: That whenever two-thirds of the States desire to yield either a part or all of their sovereignty they can do it under the method provided by the Constitution.

Mr. CARAWAY. And the other one-third must submit?

Mr. RAKER. Exactly.

The CHAIRMAN. If there were an amendment pending here providing that no woman under the American flag should be permitted to vote you would come here and advocate the adoption of that amendment and advocate the submission of it to the people?

Mr. RAKER. If a large percentage of the American people believed that it ought to be submitted I would vote to submit it; I would vote it out of committee so that the Members of the House could determine what to do, but personally I would vote against that in the House.

Mr. CARAWAY. How do you justify your position in voting against it in the House and voting for it in the committee? Why not pass it on to the people and not have it stopped in the House?

Mr. RAKER. The committee is the method by which we handle our business.

Mr. CARAWAY. So is the House.

Mr. RAKER. It is a device to expedite business. The theory is that every matter presented ought to be voted on——

Mr. CARAWAY (interposing). Do you think that every bill ought to be voted on?

Mr. RAKER. I do not mean every bill, but when matters are of sufficient importance as to attract the attention of the country and the people feel an interest in them, I do not think a committee under any circumstances ought to pigeonhole them, but that they ought to go to the floor of the House so that the Members may vote.

Mr. CARAWAY. Why not have matters of public interest voted on directly in the House without having them referred to a committee?

Mr. RAKER. I think matters ought to go to a committee.

Mr. CARAWAY. Why? If there is to be no discretion and the committee must report all matters, why have bills go through that form?

Mr. RAKER. Does the gentleman realize that in the last 20 years bills have not been reported back adversely or adverse reports made on them, and that unless a bill can get a majority vote it is allowed to die and the committee does not make an adverse report? The rules provide that a bill must be reported favorably or adversely, and if it is reported adversely the man who introduced it is to be given an opportunity to be heard upon the floor of the House.

Mr. CARAWAY. I know of no such rule as that.

Mr. RAKER. There certainly is one, that a committee shall report a bill adversely if it is not favorably reported. I think I am not in error about that and that the rule provides for the bringing in of an adverse report so that the man introducing it may have a vote on it.

Mr. CARAWAY. A Member has that right, but I do not believe there is any rule requiring a committee to report.

Mr. RAKER. No; I did not mean to say that.

Mr. GRAHAM. You can move to discharge a committee from the further consideration of a bill.

Mr. RAKER. There is no rule saying that a committee must report adversely or otherwise, and what I am trying to say is this: That the theory of the thing is that every bill should have consideration if the affairs of a committee are such that they have the time to attend to it.

The CHAIRMAN. If a constitutional amendment were offered providing that no liquor should be made or sold in the United States, do you think that a Member of Congress representing a district 99 per cent "wet," as we term it, would be true to his constituency if he voted to submit such an amendment?

Mr. RAKER. Well, of course, on that particular question the trouble is that there is never a chance to vote or they never do vote how the people feel on it. It is a subject which any man, I believe, could justly and honestly at any time and under any circumstances vote to have submitted to the people—that is, whether or not they wanted liquor to be used in the community in which they live, and I would answer that question yes, because it is a peculiar condition.

Now, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I hope that the appearance of these Democrats, and the gentlemen on the other side who appear to be heard, may demonstrate to you that we believe this is a matter of sufficient importance to warrant the committee in

reporting a resolution to the House in order that the Members may have an opportunity to vote upon it.

Mr. CARAWAY. Have you any restrictions on suffrage in California?

Mr. RAKER. Yes.

Mr. CARAWAY. Would you like the people of my State to attempt to overturn those restrictions in the face of your insistence that you need them? For instance, Japan wants her citizens naturalized so they can vote in California, and you people do not like it.

Mr. RAKER. No; not at all.

Mr. CARAWAY. You would be very bitter if the rest of us were to pass a constitutional amendment saying that California must naturalize the Japanese and grant the right to vote, would you not? I am not saying that the women are not better than the Japanese. but I am talking about the control which you have taken of suffrage in your State.

Mr. RAKER. Now, Mr. Chairman. I am taking up your time, but may I answer that as I would like to answer it? I want to make myself plain and clear to the committee and to the gentleman who has asked the question, whose ability I appreciate and whose integrity and efforts are always of the best. There is a line of cleavage. I firmly believe from an investigation that under the Constitution of the United States women to-day have the right to vote for United States Senators and Members of Congress, and that Congress is simply derelict in enforcing the constitutional amendment that is now in existence.

Mr. CARAWAY. Why do they not go to the court? That is the place in which to enforce their rights.

Mr. RAKER. No; but I have not finished yet. So far as State officials are concerned, that was one of their inherent rights of sovereignty; they never yielded it; they never have attempted to yield it and ought not to yield it. Therefore, having that sovereign power within themselves they themselves fix the qualifications of their voters, provided it is under the control of the Constitution of the United States or the laws which Congress may have the right to pass. I think I have answered your question. That is not contrary to the United States Constitution and laws enacted by Congress when within its jurisdictional rights.

Mr. CARAWAY. Yes; that is clear; I understand that.

#### **STATEMENT OF HON. JOSEPH TAGGART, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF KANSAS.**

Mr. TAGGART. I wish to add a few more words to this hearing, with the permission and patience of the committee. I am the only member of this committee representing a suffrage State. It is not regarded as an eccentric question in the State of Kansas; it is not an academic question; it is recognized as a right claimed in accordance with the principles of the purest democracy. It is simply the recognition of the fact that every mature person of sound mind has the right to express his or her will in public affairs. It has led to no confusion, no eccentricity, or anything unusual. It has been in vogue in the State of Kansas for the past 40 or 50 years in city and school elections. The efforts of women in city elections have always been

for the betterment of the city. As a Representative from that State it gave me pleasure to report out this amendment in a former Congress without being applied to, besieged, or annoyed by any kind of an organization. I voted for it on the floor of the House. In this Congress I have repeatedly voted in committee in favor of reporting it and voted in opposition to postponing it.

So far as this Congress is concerned, it sits in another session and until the 4th of next March, and personally I can see no difference between voting on it now and voting on it in December. No time would be lost, as the State legislatures will not meet until winter. The same men will be here. Possibly it might get more votes in December, January, or February than it would get now. I have had no communications, with the exception of one or two letters, from my district in respect to voting this out now; but if it is the wish of these gentlemen representing suffrage States and the wish of the gentlemen representing the State of Kansas that this should be taken before the House and voted upon at this time, I shall vote as I did before and as I have always voted in this committee. I shall vote to report it to the House and let the Members vote on it there. But I wish to warn these people who are so enthusiastic for it that you can not plant an acorn one day and expect an oak the next morning. If you should go over to the House and get fewer votes than you did before, your enemies would come before this committee twitting you and telling you that woman suffrage was going downhill. I would suggest to those of you who are so enthusiastic to vote on it now that it might be well to go out and see those men who are running for Congress in the coming campaign and ask them to vote for it in the next session; but if instead of doing that, and instead of waiting to see what the great parties may say about it, you want it now, and having a vote on it now would serve the interests of woman suffrage better, I will do all I can to send it over the House.

**ADDITIONAL STATEMENT OF HON. BENJAMIN C. HILLIARD, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF COLORADO.**

Mr. HILLIARD. I just want to say this: I think the men should feel complimented that the women ask for suffrage and that a tribute is due the women for their regard for constitutional law and that they do not take this right. They are half the people of the country; they have all of these rights inherently and I think it is a great tribute to their love for constitutional law and order generally that they do not just say "We will vote."

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think a 20-year old boy has an inherent right to vote?

Mr. HILLIARD. Not at all.

The CHAIRMAN. Why not?

Mr. HILLIARD. Because he is not old enough and I do not believe he is as wise as a woman of 21.

The CHAIRMAN. I never heard that the right to vote was an inherent or natural right.

Mr. HILLIARD. That is the reason I brought that thought to you, because you had not heard of it before.

Mr. TAGGART. Let me say that the woman who bore the 20-year-old boy and had the trouble of bringing him up is an intelligent person and has the right to vote.

**ADDITIONAL STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN E. RAKER, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA.**

Mr. RAKER. Just one word more. Some remark has been made about the right of a 20-year-old boy to vote. Some 15 years ago I got a good deal of help and prepared a speech upon what had been done by men from 18 to 21, and it is marvelous to know what has been accomplished by men between those ages. Between 18 and 21 the greatest lawyers and scientists did some of their best work. I just want to drop that suggestion in order to show that 21 is only an arbitrary age as to the right to vote. In conclusion I want to say this: It has been said, Mr. Chairman, and I have refuted it, that this committee is not inclined to act, but I want to say for the 28 gentlemen who have had an opportunity to appear here that we thank you for giving us this hearing. We have said and we say now that this chairman and this committee are big, broad, brainy men and that you will always listen to the necessities of any subject that may be presented to you. That has been demonstrated in the past, and in behalf of the other 28 men I want to thank you, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of this committee, for your kind consideration in presenting this matter to you, and it is our earnest hope that you may report out the resolution.

I thank you.

(Thereupon the committee adjourned.)













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